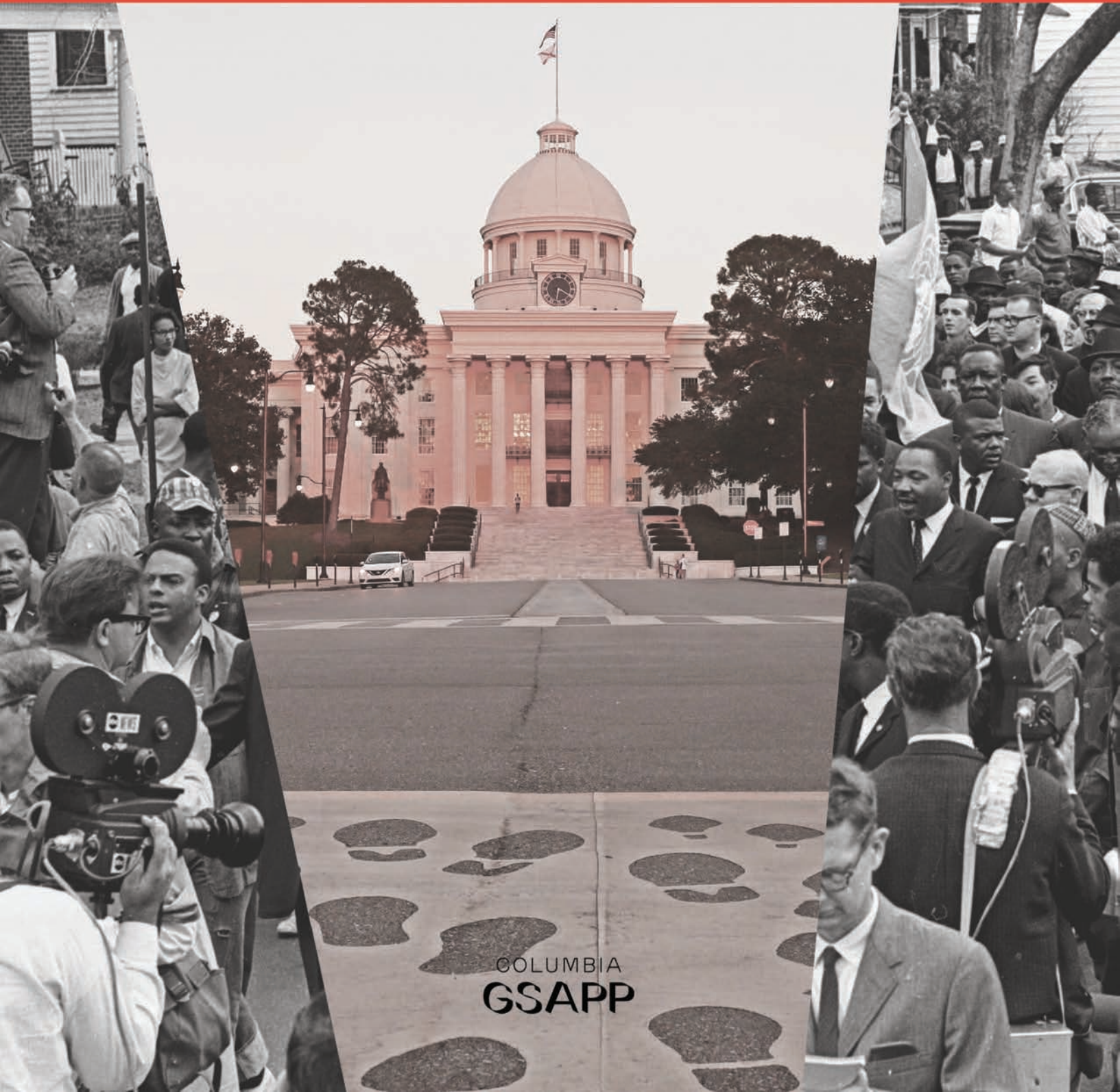


HISTORICAL NARRATIVE, SPATIAL POWER, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The Role of Memory in Shaping the Urban Landscape of Montgomery, Alabama



COLUMBIA
GSAPP

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Landscape of Montgomery, Alabama*

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by World Monuments Fund, in connection with its
efforts to preserve the Alabama Civil Rights Sites, which
were included on the 2018 World Monuments Watch.

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Commerce Street, Downtown Montgomery,
October 2018.



Montgomery

- Convention Center
- Civic Center
- Old Montgomery Town
- The Allen

RENAISSANCE
MONTGOMERY HOTEL & SPA
AT THE UNIVERSITY

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Shreya Ghoshal, Graduate Teaching Assistant

This project would not have been possible without the assistance of many organizations and individuals who made our preparations easier, our field survey more successful, and our subsequent analysis more ambitious.

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Through the efforts of the Alabama African American Civil Rights Heritage Sites Consortium a series of twenty Alabama Civil Rights Sites, nine of which are in Montgomery, were included on the 2018 World Monuments Watch. This global recognition of the importance of the Civil Rights sites of Montgomery provided a backdrop for our research and lent a sense of urgency to this study, conducted during the twilight years of many of the participants of the modern Civil Rights movement. For the past two years, World Monuments Fund has supported the collection of oral histories associated with these sites, the Educational Foundation of America has supported operational and organizational costs associated with the consortium, and the J.M. Kaplan Fund has helped meet the documentation and conservation needs of the consortium sites. The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI), the institutional hub managing this consortium, provided valuable advice from the outset. Georgette Norman, the project historian at Consortium, helped with logistical support and gave the group an account of the lesser-known history of Centennial Hill during a walking tour in that neighborhood.

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Studio Team with members of AME Zion Church,
at Old Ship Church, Montgomery, October 2018.

INTRODUCTION

We don't simply preserve and interpret the historic built environment; we encounter it. Those encounters intuitively shape our understanding of ourselves as individuals and of our shared past. What we choose to save or memorialize, whether intentionally or not, reinforces particular narratives and voices, thereby designing what memories and stories are represented in the landscape. This process is never arbitrary, but it can be difficult to perceive any direction to the narratives memorialized in public space in the context of a rapidly changing urban environment. Nevertheless, patterns are established over time, and in retrospect, it is often clear that groups holding preferential access to civic power and capital have been more successful at enshrining their preferred narrative in the public sphere. Dominant narratives have been reinforced and alternate narratives suppressed using the tools of planning and preservation.

Nevertheless, municipalities around the country have recently embarked on a process of public review, scrutinizing their monuments and re-evaluating the role that they play in commemorating the past while reflecting the values of the present. Special commissions like the Monument Avenue Commission in Richmond, VA have been tasked with making recommendations regarding a specific subset of Confederate monuments. Others, like the Mayoral Advisory Commission of City Art, Monuments and Markers in New York, were convened to scrutinize the full corpus of public monuments (but did not directly include historic buildings). These processes, while perhaps long overdue, point towards a need for greater alignment between planning and preservation practitioners moving forward.

Residents of Montgomery, Alabama, have long confronted a contentious past. Their city was both the first capital of the Confederacy as well as one of the epicenters of the Civil Rights Movement. Currently,

the State Capitol building is flanked by the First White House of the Confederacy to the south, and the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church that hosted the congregation of Martin Luther King Jr. to the west. A short walk from the location of Montgomery's former slave market, the Equal Justice Initiative and the Southern Poverty Law Center now lead national coalitions to continue the pursuit for social justice and civil rights.

In May 2017, in the context of a national conversation about the removal of Confederate monuments, the State Legislature in Montgomery passed the Alabama Memorial Preservation Act, requiring local governments to obtain authorization from the state before moving or renaming buildings and monuments older than 40 years. To date, this legislation has largely provided additional protection for Confederate monuments that were under consideration for removal. While this legislation was overturned by the Jefferson County Circuit Court in January, 2019, an ongoing process of judicial review is likely.

Simultaneously, there have been two noteworthy efforts to elevate additional historical narratives in the city. The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI) successfully nominated a consortium of Civil Rights sites (including nine sites in Montgomery) to the 2018 World Monuments Watch. The Equal Justice Initiative created the National Memorial for Peace and Justice, a new monument intended to honor the victims of lynching nationwide and designed by MASS, recipient of the 2017 National Design Award.

During this moment of reflection and response, the City of Montgomery has embarked on its first comprehensive planning process in more than 50 years: Envision Montgomery 2040. The city hopes that this plan will serve as a guide for "long-term preservation, revitalization and growth." Building on cornerstones of the community such as Maxwell Airforce Base and the Hyundai manufacturing plant, Montgomery aspires to welcome newcomers to the city. Nevertheless, in the recently released "Community Factbook," the Envision Montgomery 2040 team barely mentions the history of the city. Montgomery's future depends in part on its ability to recognize and integrate these diverse historical

narratives and places of memory within the built and social fabric of the city.

Against this rich backdrop of Montgomery history, this advanced studio brought together graduate students in Urban Planning and Historic Preservation to develop skills in mapping, assessing, and integrating cultural heritage as an instrumental component of sustainable urbanization, community development, and social-spatial justice. As a project-based studio, students worked collaboratively to research, analyze, and propose recommendations for future action, compiling findings in a collective final report.

While the choice of Montgomery, Alabama, was certainly timely amid the contemporary conflicts surrounding Confederate monuments, this studio sought to ask a deeper question at a broader scale:

*How do we reconcile
contentious pasts with
aspirations for the future
by telling better stories
about ourselves in the built
environment?*

In a place like Montgomery, traditional approaches of identifying historic places and incorporating them into urban plans and landmark rosters is insufficient. Over time, decision making about the built environment has systematically erased certain histories from the landscape. So how do we preserve what is no longer there? How do we re-spatialize lost narratives? How do we confront legacies of injustice that are codified in the built environment? How might intentionally acknowledging the role that both preservation and planning have played in reinforcing racial divisions help forge greater trust and civic participation moving forward?

The studio therefore placed a significant emphasis on understanding existing social and spatial conditions through the lens of history and longitudinal change. Students sought to critically analyze previous

urban planning and preservation decisions that have shaped civic space and the publicly discernible historical narrative of Montgomery. They especially worked to understand how these disciplines may have perpetuated ambient inequalities, as well as the ways in which planning and preservation decisions promote equity for the city's residents. Through archival and field-based research, students worked to document the geographical presence of distinct historical narratives in a study area that roughly corresponds to the extent of the city at the end of the Civil War. They likewise characterized how these physical manifestations of historical narrative have evolved through time, looking in depth at several key areas of the city's core to understand longitudinal change within the built environment and community demography. In light of Montgomery's current work to create a master planning document that will guide the decisions of the city for years to come, students explored interventions to further inform the work of stakeholder organizations toward acknowledgment of the past, in order to better prepare for the future.

Throughout this semester-long process, this studio bore witness to the fact that encounters within landscape have power, that the decisive use of space has power; it shapes our understanding of who we are and who we can be. Students and practitioners stand to learn as much from the pathologies of this power as they can from its judicious use.



Studio Team with Michelle Browder,
Historic Kress Building, Montgomery, October 2018.



Top: Studio members surveying historic marker.

Bottom: Studio method of tracking surveyed resources.

METHODOLOGY

OBJECTIVE

In this study of Montgomery, the primary focus was to critically analyze the human encounter of spatialized historical narratives in the urban form. For the purposes of this studio, spatialized historical narratives were defined as physical manifestations in the built environment that represent specific historical frameworks. These physically manifested histories shape our understanding of ourselves and of our society. Further, the built environment is effectively a statement of public values—both past and present—held by a community. Public policies that govern space through time ultimately play a role in historiography, shaping both our present understanding of the past as well determining which previous interpretations of the past are allowed to persist. With the conviction that planning and preservation are the tools that shape these collectively held values and shared past experiences, the studio team expected to find temporal and narrative patterns in the built environment that reflect the historical distribution of political power in Montgomery. Those with political power shape the City, while disenfranchised groups lack the ability to gain spatial representation of alternative historical narratives. In the context of Montgomery, differential access to power has long been determined by race.

APPROACH

Background Research

Mapping

Field Survey

Interviews & Site Visits

Comparative Cases

The team began its research by examining available literature about Montgomery under four lenses: social-spatial history, political history, planning and preservation governance, and memorialization history. These different aspects of the city's history informed research throughout the semester.

The **social-spatial lens** critically considered the settlement and urban development of Montgomery over time—from Native American to present day. Within this history, the team analyzed key factors like Montgomery 1963 City Plan, past and present mass transit, the legacy of redlining, and demographic changes through time. Forming this historical analysis allowed the team to frame and characterize Montgomery’s contemporary built environment and land use.

Political history research traced the co-existing narratives in Montgomery’s past, including some less easily discussed and painful histories, such as racial terror in the Jim Crow era and violence in resistance to the Civil Rights Movement. Other narratives investigated involved Native Americans, the Civil War and the Confederacy, other military associations, slavery, and prominent citizens in Montgomery’s culture. Unpacking the complex issues surrounding both the difficult and more well-known aspects of history allowed the team to explore the role of collective memory in planning and preservation.

Through the **planning and preservation governance** lens, the studio sought to understand the government and non-government actors and decision-making processes in the city. This research was essential to

an understanding of who has power and a voice over the physical and narrative landscape of Montgomery.

Finally, an analysis of **memorialization history** focused on the different eras of memorialization in Montgomery. The public interpretation of the city’s past changed throughout these eras (primarily the twentieth century, post-World War I, the 1970s, and contemporary) and these editorial trends shed light on the powerful role of historic places in an ongoing narrative struggle for the public sphere. The team also examined the contemporary controversies surrounding the use and display of Confederate symbols and monuments.

Creating a basemap to take into the field, the team relied on publicly available datasets provided by Montgomery County and the U.S. National Park Service as well as an extract of the basemap developed by the Montgomery Department of Planning. The team focused on a study area comprised of six census tracts in central Montgomery, which includes the historic boundaries of the city just before the onset of the Civil War, and thus represents the city’s historic commercial and residential core. This core is the epicenter of the memorialization efforts. Within the study area, the team geolocated previously documented historical resources including landmarks,



historic buildings, historic districts, and memorials from local, state, and national level designations. These resources were contextualized with information accessed through online archival records and historic district or landmark listings. Ancillary to this basemap preparation was the use of historical maps and aerials to understand changes longitudinally. In tandem with the construction of the basemap, the team used a field survey tool to systematically record the human experience of spatialized historical narratives in Montgomery. The goal of the survey tool was to understand what narratives are spatially represented in Montgomery, and how narrative representation has changed over time. In other words, the survey tool was meant to capture how a visitor (in this case, the studio team) notices and deciphers the physical indicators of specific historical narratives in the built environment. The studio was uniquely suited to this type of data collection since there was archival familiarity with Montgomery's history, but none of the Columbia students had ever visited the city before. The studio used KoBo Toolbox, a web-based, open-source platform to create this survey. The survey tool allowed users to record information about historical resources as they are encountered in lived human experience, and categorizes resources against a list of the previously researched historical narratives one might expect to encounter in the landscape.

This work differed from a traditional historical resources survey in that it was as focused on the narrative portrayal of the city's history as it was with the resources themselves, seeking to understand how different aspects of history are represented and encountered in the built environment. Based on preliminary background research, the studio

developed a list of approximately twenty narratives to categorize each resource. These narratives were both chronological (e.g. Reconstruction Era) as well as thematic (e.g. Prominent Citizens), and attempted to cover the full spectrum of efforts to publicly commemorate, preserve, or interpret the history of the city.

In many cases, it seemed possible to divide a given narrative into specific sub-narratives to provide greater nuance. For example, in addition to a narrative category related specifically to the Confederacy, the team considered narrative categories including the Founding of the Confederate States of America, and resources related to the Civil War more generally. Following work in the field, the team resolved the tension between lumping and splitting, and found that the recorded narratives fit within seventeen categories, joining several sub-categories that were closely related.

Eight of these categories tie to specific chapters in the history of Montgomery: Native American History, Early Montgomery (comprising Early Colonial Settlement, Montgomery City Formation, and Antebellum Era South), Slavery, Confederacy (comprising the Confederate States of America and general Civil War), Reconstruction Era, Jim Crow and Racial Terror, Other Wars (comprising WWI, WWII, and Vietnam), and the Civil Rights Movement. Seven of these narratives were more thematic, providing insight into forces that shaped the city across more than one time period: Prominent Citizens, Education, Religion, Science & Technology, Architectural Significance, State of Alabama, and Contemporary Branding. Finally, recognizing that in



Studio Team with students from Tuskegee University.
Tuskegee Campus, Montgomery, October 2018.

some cases a narrative is not immediately apparent and that occasionally a resource did not fit well into any defined category, some narratives were recorded as Unknown or Other.

The narratives recorded were further characterized according to the gender and community(ies) they represent. Recognizing that a monument might have a stronger presence in the built environment than an historical marker, resources were also characterized according to their relative visual prominence.

The typologies of the resources themselves is more straightforward, but still worth describing in greater detail. The following section outlines brief definitions, along with examples of each resource type.

Official Historical Markers: Free-standing historical markers, usually placed by a government agency or formal organization were recorded as “Official Historical Markers.” These historical markers take essentially the same form in historic places across the country and are easily recognized by the general public as markers of historical events and locations.

Other stand-alone signage: The category captured all other signage perceived to signify a historical event or particular narrative, and includes directional and wayfinding signage, as well as signage related to contemporary city branding initiatives.

Monuments: This category includes statuary, memorials, commemorative architecture and installations encountered within the public realm, and that project a perceived narrative. This included monuments on public and private property.

Buildings: A building was documented as a resource if it could be reasonably understood by passerby as being of historical significance or representative of a particular narrative. Often buildings of significance were associated with a nearby official historic marker; sometimes buildings were documented because a plaque on the structure itself identified its date of construction or recognized its inclusion within a historic district.

Museums & Interpretive Centers: While some are located within historic buildings, museums and interpretive centers were categorized separately

from buildings to distinguish the purpose of the institutions beyond the building in which they are located.

Open Space: This resource category was used to capture large sites and open spaces like parks and plazas. Many of the sites documented in this category contained additional resources within their boundaries, like historical markers, statues, or memorials. In such cases, the additional resources were recorded individually, though with an indication that they could be considered as part of an ensemble in an open space.

Other: Resources that could not be neatly aligned with another typology were defined as “other.” Included in the category were several memorial trees and works of public art.

Archaeological Sites: Given the many layers of history in Montgomery, a category was reserved for archaeological sites.

Districts: Historic districts are not recorded as individual resources within the scope of the survey, but having an understanding of the various local, state, and national district designations and their boundaries was crucial to evaluating resources within the greater context of the city. A description of each district and its level of designation can be found in an appendix to this report.

During the fieldwork in Montgomery, the team deployed the survey tool using tablets and smartphones, travelling throughout the study area with the aim of complete coverage via foot or car. In approaching each resource in the field, the team—assisted by Tuskegee students—recorded information such as the name of the resource, resource type, primary and secondary perceived historical narratives, gender and race or ethnicity represented, date erected and party responsible for creation, visual prominence and physical condition, and coordinate location. For increased location accuracy, handheld GPS devices were used to record coordinate locations. After completing the field survey, collected data was cleaned and processed, then integrated into the basemap. This allowed the team to analyze both spatial and temporal trends

in narrative representations by combining initial background research with data collected in the field. Fieldwork also included interviews and meetings with local officials and community representatives, and the team visited many of Montgomery's public-facing history institutions. These meetings and visits confirmed some preliminary findings and focused the team's attention on issues most relevant to residents of Montgomery today. These conversations also inspired some additional "deep dive" research into specific neighborhoods and streets that have played an important role in the city's evolution. The team analyzed longitudinal change and the key factors behind changes within these critical areas. This information, combined with the composite analysis of background research with collected data, allowed for the identification of key issues.



Studio team meeting with Collier Neeley of the Alabama Historical Commission/State Historic Preservation Office.

Finally, the team developed a set of comparative cases where other locations have been grappling with issues that may be useful points of reference for stakeholders in Montgomery. These comparative cases addressed the representation of negative or painful histories, the reinterpretation of long-standing narratives, the introduction of underrepresented voices and narratives in the built environment and municipal decision-making process, and the engagement of communities in data collection about memory and heritage. These cases, along with the key issues identified, informed a series of proposals intended to explore and inspire alternatives ways forward as the city plans its future.

LIMITATIONS

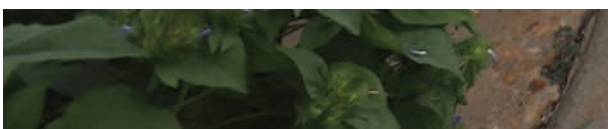
In conducting research, the studio identified a few primary limitations. First, the field survey aimed to record human encounter with historic resources. The students recognize that their own lived experiences and initial research may have biased narrative interpretation of historic resources. The team may have, in fact, known too much about Montgomery's history to adequately assess how historic narratives are spatialized to visitors or residents. Second, the team conducted a single field visit lasting less than one week. Given more time and resources, the team would have ideally coordinated additional visits to Montgomery throughout the research process. For instance, the interior of publicly accessible buildings were excluded due to time constraints, but such spaces are likely to contain highly relevant resources that would further strengthen this study.



Studio Team with Georgette Norman.
Jackson Street, Montgomery, October 2018.



Studio Team with Georgette Norman,
Holt Street, Montgomery, October 2018.





HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The history of Montgomery is exceedingly rich and continues to be written as new information comes to light and new interpretations are made. The summary that follows focuses primarily on the aspects of the city's history that directly informed the development of the selected narratives the studio recorded in the field.

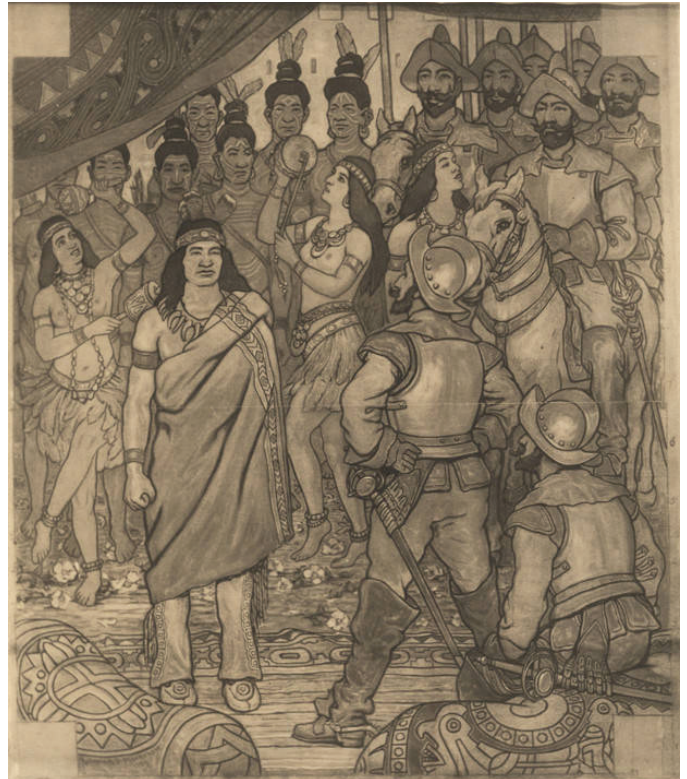
NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

Indigenous peoples inhabited the woodlands of the Southeastern United States since the Paleoindian Period, circa 10,000 BC. Historians know most about the mound-building civilizations of the Mississippian Period (800 - 1600 AD). The Mississippians established settlements throughout the Great Lakes, Ohio Valley, and Mississippi Valley regions, linked by trade networks. Earthen mound sites were created as religious and political centers, with notable examples in Cahokia (in present-day Illinois) and Moundville (in present-day Alabama) (Blitz 2007).

European contact beginning in the 15th century resulted in the death of nearly 95 percent of the indigenous population due to violence, English-sponsored slavery, and foreign plagues for which they were not immunized. The remnants of Mississippian civilizations merged and morphed into newly-configured "chiefdoms," categorized by political structure, language, and geographic location (Worth 2011). Political alliances between indigenous groups were forged to combat the stresses associated with colonial contact. By the time Alabama was admitted into the United States in 1819, the state was home to myriad tribes, including the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Biloxi.

The first comprehensive European-led expedition of the American Southeast commenced in 1539 when Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto landed on the west coast of Florida. De Soto embarked on a circuitous three-year expedition through present-day Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas. The Spanish campaign was often mired in violence with indigenous populations,

particularly when de Soto came into contact with Mississippian Chief Tuskaloosa. While on his campaign near present-day Montgomery County, Chief Tuskaloosa lured the Spaniards to the town of Mabila with the promise of weapons. When de Soto arrived to the town, he was ambushed by Mississippian warriors, resulting in mass casualties on both sides (Sheppard n.d.).



Mural by Roderick D. MacKenzie depicting the meeting of Hernando DeSoto and Chief Tuskaloosa.

Following de Soto's expedition, the Creek peoples interacted intermittently with Spanish, French, and British traders throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The British built permanent trading posts, such as Ocmulgee, where colonists swapped cloth, guns, and steel for deerskins and indigenous slaves. The French founded Fort Toulouse in 1717, located just ten miles north of present-day Montgomery. This strategic fort solidified France's territorial claims in the area, functioning as a trading and diplomatic outpost until 1763 (Sherwood 2008).

A number of treaties in the late eighteenth century, including the Treaty of Paris in 1763 and Pinckney's Treaty in 1795, resulted in the creation of the American-administered Mississippi Territory. The eastern half of the jurisdiction was separated into the

Alabama Territory in 1817, and then admitted into statehood two years later. Although Cahaba briefly served as Alabama's first state capital, administrative functions were relocated to Tuscaloosa in 1826.

In 1817, General John Scott and settlers from Georgia set up a settlement on the banks of the Alabama River known as Alabama Town. A few months later, Massachusetts Lawyer Andrew Dexter established a new settlement two miles downstream, called New Philadelphia. Realizing that New Philadelphia was outpacing Alabama Town, John Scott relocated downstream as well, and founded an adjacent community dubbed East Alabama Town in 1818 (Montgomery Advertiser Staff 2018).

The two "rival" cities agreed to consolidate in 1819 to optimize urban and economic development potential. The new municipality was renamed "Montgomery" in honor of American Revolutionary War General Richard Montgomery (Neeley 2008). General Montgomery was born in Ireland, but moved to the United States and became committed to the American Independence movement. He is best known for leading the Continental Army's first campaign to capture the then-British Province of Quebec. Although Montgomery was successful in capturing Fort St. Johns in Montreal, he was killed in battle during the failed siege of Quebec City on December 31, 1775.

The town of Montgomery blossomed due to its trading, manufacturing, and administrative functions in Alabama's expanding cotton economy, fueled by enslaved labor. The city's population grew from 695 in 1830 to 8,843 residents by 1860. A number of railroads, including the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, developed in the coming years, linking the Alabama Black Belt to the markets on the East Coast (Lee 2009). The downtown district became more commercially diversified and prosperous, opening up hotels, taverns, and storehouses.

Recognizing Montgomery's emergence as a veritable urban hub, the Alabama State Legislature voted to relocate the state's capital there in 1846. The first Capitol building was burned within two years, and was replaced in situ with the current structure completed in 1851. The Capitol sits on a tract of previously undeveloped pasture land, known as Goat

Hill, which New Philadelphia founder Andrew Dexter presciently set aside for a future state house (Alabama Historical Commission n.d.).

Although white settlers had established a burgeoning commercial center based on enslaved labor and cotton, the indigenous peoples of Alabama had either relocated voluntarily or were forced to relocate to the Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma. The relocation process was spurred by a series of land cessions between 1802 and 1835 in which Native Americans were coerced into signing treaties that exchanged swaths of territory throughout Alabama for cash and guaranteed land in the Indian Territory (Haveman 2009). The Creeks near Montgomery were not removed until the Second Creek War; a string of violent skirmishes between encroaching white settlers and indigenous residents in the spring of 1836. The violence provided President Jackson with sufficient justification to forcibly relocate the remaining Creeks. American soldiers chained and marched the prisoners through Montgomery where they were loaded onto steamboats toward Mobile and ultimately transferred to Fort Gibson, Oklahoma (Haveman 2009).

Map of MONTGOMERY ALABAMA 1842 ~ 1850

Map of Montgomery, AL from 1842 after consolidation
of Alabama Town and New Philadelphia.

LEGEND

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. WEST POINT & MONTGOMERY R.R. SHOPS | 15. KING-SIMPSON RESIDENCE (MY AUNT) |
| 2. JANNEY IRON WORKS & FOUNDRY | 16. MONTGOMERY HALL (HOTEL) |
| 3. WINTER IRON WKS. | 17. STATE CAPITOL |
| 4. ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH | 18. COTTAGE HILL SEMINARY (SCHOOL FOR WOMEN) |
| 5. POST OFFICE | 19. ANDREW LAPRADE RESIDENCE (MY UNCLE) |
| 6. POLICE HEADQUARTERS & JAIL | 20. WEST POINT & MONTGOMERY R.R. PASSENGER DEPOT |
| 7. CITY MARKET PLACE | 21. OLD HATCHETT RESIDENCE (MY BROTHER JOHN HATCHETT) |
| 8. MONTGOMERY OPERA HOUSE | 22. GRAVES RESIDENCE |
| 9. PEOPLES BANK | 23. COURT ST. METHODIST CHURCH |
| 10. COURT HOUSE | 24. CHAPPELL RESIDENCE. |
| 11. ADVERTISER BLDG. (NEWS PAPER) | |
| 12. OLD EXCHANGE HOTEL | |
| 13. WINTER BUILDING & BANK | |
| 14. MADISON HOUSE (HOTEL) | |

ANTEBELLUM ERA

From the 1820s to 1860s, Montgomery was a flourishing city with diverse businesses and robust trading. Its economy was driven by the exportation of raw short-staple cotton from the plantations of the Alabama Black Belt to the cities of Mobile, AL via steamboats and West Point, GA via rail. The plantation economy of the Southern United States depended on cheap labor supplied by African slaves. However, after Congress had passed the Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves in 1807, which outlawed the international importation of slaves, Montgomery evolved into the epicenter of the domestic slave trade. Slaves often arrived via steamboats to Montgomery's riverfront, where they were then shackled and paraded up Market Street (now Commerce Street) to be sold in one of the city's many slave markets (EJI 2013). Fueled in part by this ready access to slave labor, Montgomery County was the state's biggest cotton producer by 1840, exporting 30,000 bales annually (Mitchell 2008).

In 1860, Montgomery City's population of nearly 9,000 was approximately half white residents and half

enslaved black people. The surrounding Montgomery County had a population of nearly 40,000 residents at this time. Due to the many plantations scattered across the agricultural hinterland, the black population vastly outnumbered the white population, making up two-thirds of the total county figure (US Census 1860).

Despite Montgomery not having an institute of higher learning by 1860, an elite social class was formed by wealthy businessmen profiting from the plantation economy. Cotton was a source of spectacular wealth for those who controlled the means of production and distribution. In addition to functioning as a trade depot, Montgomery underwent a period of industrialization during the Antebellum Era, opening up the Montgomery Manufacturing Company foundry in 1848 (Lakwete 2010). The city was also the birthplace of the "Cotton Exchange," started by German immigrants Henry, Emanuel, and Mayer Lehman. Beginning their business with a general store in downtown Montgomery, these entrepreneurs expanded their operations to create a "cotton brokerage firm" which allowed plantation owners to trade cotton in exchange for store merchandise. The Lehman



WEIGHING AND SAMPLING COTTON ON LEE STREET.

Brothers' business relocated in 1858 to New York City where it eventually developed into one of the largest investment banks of the twentieth century (Lewis 2009).

CIVIL WAR ERA

There are many familiar narratives in contemporary dialogue about what led to the secession of the Confederate States of America, including issues of state sovereignty in the federalist system and the westward annexation of the United States. However, in the Articles of Secession drafted by the various states in 1861, slavery was the only one of these rationales mentioned (Loewen and Sebesta 2018). A clear debate arose due the moral and economic differences over slavery. The feud between the South, with its slave-dependent plantation economy, and the industrialized North came to a tipping point when Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected as President in 1860. Lincoln had made a promise not only to stop the Western expansion of slavery, but also to outlaw the practice in states where it was already permitted. Fearing loss of all political influence and control of their economy, the Southern States banded together to secede from the United States of America in February 1861 (Public Broadcasting Service n.d.).

Montgomery became the first capital of the Confederate States, as it was a booming industrial and trade depot that was connected by rail and river. More importantly, the city was the location of the Alabama Secession Convention where leaders drafted the Ordinance of Secession, which formulated the governmental structure and principles of the Confederate States (Alabama Dept Archives n.d.). Montgomery served as the Confederate capital from February to May 1861 before it was relocated to Richmond, Virginia, which had a much larger population of 38,000 residents and more intensive industrial activity, and was within 100 miles of Washington, DC (Risley 2011).

Despite only serving as the capital for less than three months, many significant events occurred in Montgomery, including the inauguration of the only Confederate President Jefferson Davis at the Alabama State Capitol Grounds on February 18, 1861 (Hubbs 2008). A telegraph sent from Montgomery's Winter



Jefferson Davis's inauguration at the Alabama State Capitol in Montgomery in 1861.

Building authorized the Confederate States Army to attack Fort Sumter, effectively commencing the American Civil War on April 12, 1861. Three days later, recently-inaugurated United States President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to enlist in the United States Army to protect the Union. The Civil War lasted four years and claimed 750,000 lives in total (Gugliotta 2012). In addition to being the deadliest war in terms of total US Military deaths, the Civil War also had the greatest impact on the overall population claiming the lives of 2.4 percent of the nation's total population. For context, the second deadliest war in United States history was World War II with approximately 400,000 American deaths.

Although it no longer served as the Capital of the Confederate States, Montgomery continued to play a crucial role throughout the Civil War. To support the army, the Confederate Congress set up regional offices for the Quartermaster, Commissary General, Medical, and Ordnance departments. During the war, Montgomery was designated as a major quartermaster depot where military supplies, rations, and weapons were stored. Montgomery also evolved into a productive wartime manufacturer,



Mural depicting the inauguration of Jefferson Davis, based on previous photograph.

fabricating clothing and shoes in the city's factories. Commissary officials purchased and slaughtered cattle in Montgomery to supply meat for both the nearby military hospitals and the troops engaged in battle. Due to its existing railroads, the city became a crucial transportation nexus, moving both soldiers and supplies to battle sites throughout the South.

Since Montgomery was located far enough away from the active battlegrounds and had the requisite infrastructure, it established six Confederate hospitals and other medical centers for wounded soldiers. Thirty surgeons and hundreds of other medical staff members rotated around the city's scattered hospitals, caring for about 2,000 wounded soldiers at any given time. There were often more patients than beds, resulting in the erection of temporary tent facilities near the intersection of Lee and Bibb Streets (Rogers 1999).

As the war progressed, slave labor became more crucial to city commerce and the military as slaves filled the voids left by white factory workers who joined the Confederate Army. Enslaved people worked in the factories run by the Quartermaster, and also served as laundresses, nurses, and other roles in hospitals.

Alabama was the site of only four battles during the Civil War, and Montgomery remained largely unscathed by the conflict. Nevertheless, the city was still tethered to the economic and political realities of the Confederate States. Its wartime manufacturing operations began to decline due to the Confederate government's dwindling funds, and to poor conditions of the deteriorating railroad tracks throughout the South (Rogers 1999). The city continued to serve as a critical transportation and administrative junction. By early 1865, Montgomery had more soldiers in local hospitals than any other city in Alabama, Georgia, or Mississippi (Rogers 1999).

Union troops finally penetrated the State of Alabama in 1865, nearing the end of the four-year-long war. This Union campaign, known as Wilson's Raid, was launched to destroy the state's arms manufacturing, coal mines, ironworks, and other industries. The Battle of Selma took place on April 2, 1865, and resulted in a resounding victory for the Union Army, which was able to overpower the smaller and under-resourced Confederate troops. Following this swift defeat, General Wilson led his Union Army to Montgomery

on April 12, where soldiers destroyed the city's "arsenal, train depot, foundries, rolling mills, niter works, several riverboats, and railroad cars" during the two-day occupation (Hebert 2007). The State government buildings (including the Capitol) and private dwellings were largely unaffected by the raid.

The occupation of Montgomery actually occurred days after Confederate General Robert E. Lee officially surrendered to Union General Ulysses S. Grant at the Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865. Although this agreement formally ended the war, it was just the beginning of a long process of reunifying the United States and rebuilding the decimated infrastructure and economy of the southern states (History.com 2009).

RECONSTRUCTION ERA AND JIM CROW LAWS

Following the end of the Civil War in 1865, the newly reunified States began to rebuild the former Confederate States in the South. This period, lasting from 1867 to 1874 in Alabama, became known as the era of Reconstruction. In an attempt to reform the Southern United States, the Federal Government enforced equal suffrage across the country. Racial terror and conflict swept across the former Confederate States in backlash against the newly enacted freedoms for blacks. This period saw the emergence of white supremacist groups including the Ku Klux Klan and the Knights of the White Camelia (Fitzgerald 2017). The state of Alabama was no stranger to these racial tensions during Reconstruction. As cotton prices declined in the mid-1860s, pressure to maintain a labor force grew for Alabama plantation owners. Black Codes were put into place to limit the liberty of newly freed slaves, in order to prohibit them from obtaining work outside of the plantations. These Black Codes included such limitations as requiring employment or prohibiting freedmen and freedwomen from learning to read and write. As a result, sharecropping became a prevalent source of work for freedmen and freedwomen. Sharecropping allowed former enslaved people to lease a portion of land from a crop owner. Plantation owners preferred these agreements as it kept their former slaves attached to the land and incentivized them to turn a profit. Unpredictable harvests and high interest rates led most of these

sharecroppers to be indebted to the plantation owners and, ultimately, reverted them back to a slave-owner relationship (Fitzgerald 2017).

During Reconstruction, formerly enslaved males, freshly liberated and enfranchised with the vote, were able to elect representatives to the highest levels of government. Benjamin Turner became the first African-American congressman from Alabama in 1871, though he was one of only 22 African-American congressmen elected between 1869 and 1901 (Foner 1996). In 1868, Benjamin Royal became the first African-American elected to serve in the Alabama senate and in 1870, Jeremiah Haralson became the first African American to serve in the Alabama House of Representatives and went on to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1875. Between 1868 and the beginning of the twentieth century, more than 100 African American men served in the state legislature, representing the Republican party. Despite these gains, new found representation began to be actively undercut by 1875, when the state legislature, then under the control of the entirely white Alabama Democratic party, adopted a new state constitution designed to reduce the influence of the Republican party and African Americans. This new constitution imposed a series of limitations on African American voter participation and laws supporting the segregation of races (Ledet and Ledet 2016), which effectively precluded the election of African American representatives at all levels of government.

Laws enacted to enforce segregation between races were otherwise known as Jim Crow laws. Prior to the turn of the century, Alabama legislature passed laws segregating public facilities and mandating control over black labor. Following the rulings of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, separate but equal facilities were deemed constitutional and facilitated a wave of Jim Crow laws (Novkov 2017). In the 1901 Alabama Constitution, the situation only grew worse as sections were specifically dedicated to diminishing the rights of black voters as well as segregating schools and making interracial marriages unlawful (Novkov 2017). These Jim Crow laws not only created a segregated society, but set the framework for a century of institutionalized racism.

In response to these prevailing conditions of injustice,



Top: Benjamin S. Turner of Alabama in US Senate along with other members of the 41st and 42nd US Congress (c1870).

Bottom: Alabama House of Representative in 1931.

leaders like James Rapier, who had served as Alabama's second African American elected to Congress in 1871, advocated for leaving the state entirely, lending his support to what became known as the "Exodus" movement. It was estimated that as many as 1,000 African Americans from Alabama had resettled to Kansas by 1879, joined by thousands of others from other states in the south (LeForge 2010).

While most African Americans in Alabama ultimately stayed, they faced a dehumanizing existence under the Jim Crow laws and racial terror that could be deadly. The Equal Justice Initiative has identified 361 lynching

victims from Alabama between 1877-1950, and 12 of these crimes occurred in Montgomery county (Equal Justice Initiative 2017). Lynchings maintained a notion of white supremacy through violence, and the trauma was so severe that even exposure to lynching seems to have further reduced black voter turnout by 2.5 percent in the post-Reconstruction south (Jones, Toesken and Walsh 2017).

CIVIL RIGHTS ERA

In addition to its Confederate and Civil War history, Montgomery's past is inextricably linked to its role in the Civil Rights era of the mid-twentieth century. Montgomery's black churches played a central role in the Civil Rights Movement, including Holt Street Baptist Church, the Mount Zion AME Church, the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church (where Martin Luther King Jr. was pastor), and the First Baptist "Brick-a-day" Church (where the Rev. Ralph Abernathy was pastor). After the arrest of Rosa Parks in 1955 after she refused to relinquish her seat on a Montgomery City bus to a white person, King and other religious leaders founded the Montgomery Improvement Association to organize the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Many of these same leaders went on to establish the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which helped to coordinate nonviolent civil rights protests across the South (Julien 1985).

Public transportation has served as a critical frontline in the struggle for racial equality in the United States, with black women often leading the charge. Beginning in the mid-1860s, a series of cases raised awareness and chipped away the inequity of racial segregation on streetcars, including Charlotte Brown in San Francisco (Elinson 2012), Sojourner Truth in Washington, DC (Michals 2015), and the Richmond, Virginia street car "ride ins." Katherine Brown, a black employee of United States Senate en route to Washington DC via train, also successfully sued the railroad in 1868, after she was forcibly removed for refusing to move to the "colored car" (Koed 2013). These pioneering activists inspired others to follow, such as Robert Fox, who brought a lawsuit for a streetcar incident in Louisville in 1870s. From 1900 to 1906, African Americans initiated mass boycotts against segregation in streetcars, such as John Bush's campaign in Little



Rosa Parks in 1955 during the Montgomery Bus Boycott with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in background.

Rock, and the Nashville streetcar boycott from 1905 to 1907 (Smith et al. 2017).

Public transportation is an early and integral aspect of Montgomery's history; in 1886 it was the first city in the United States to establish an electrified streetcar system (see the following section on Urban Development). By 1936, the streetcars were replaced by a complex bus system, serving the city center and outlying areas. At that time, the seating arrangement on Montgomery buses had a "white-only section" at the front, as well as a "colored section" in the back. If a white passenger boarded a bus in which the white section was fully occupied, a seated black person in the frontmost row of the blacks-only section was legally obligated to vacate his or her seat for the white person (Recchiuti 2015).

In March 1955, Claudette Colvin, a 15 year-old African American student on a Montgomery bus on her way to her segregated high school, refused to surrender her seat to a white patron and was arrested. Later that same year, December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, followed suit and was also arrested. Alabama State University professor Jo Ann Robinson, who also served as the president of the Women's Political Council, planned the Boycott with Rosa Parks' attorney Fred Gray, an alumnus of

ASU. The night Parks was arrested, Robinson and ASU students and colleagues distributed thousands of flyers throughout Montgomery's black community advocating for a one-day bus boycott on December 5, when Parks' case came to court. The scale of the endeavor grew and the boycott was extended, and the Montgomery Bus Boycott soon evolved into a major protest under Dr. King's organizational leadership (The King Center 2018).

The Montgomery Bus Boycott caught the attention of the entire nation due to its unprecedented scale and duration (Thenagain 2018), as well as to the tensions that ensued in the city. The homes of King and E. D. Nixon, another boycott organizer, were bombed in 1956, and city officials indicted many of the boycott leaders for their roles. In *Browder v. Gayle*, the Supreme Court upheld that segregation on public transportation was unconstitutional, and on December 20, 1956, after 381 days, the Montgomery Bus Boycott ended. It nonetheless inspired continued activism. Beginning in 1961, volunteer Freedom Riders rode interstate buses into the Deep South, to challenge the lack of enforcement of the Supreme Court's 1960 ruling, in *Boynton v. Virginia*, that segregation in interstate travel facilities, including terminals, restaurants, and restrooms, was also unconstitutional. In May 1961, upon arrival at the Montgomery Bus Station, the Freedom Riders were met with a violent protest. The Freedom Riders and local activists, including King and Abernathy, convened at Montgomery's First Baptist Church, which soon became surrounded by a threatening mob. At King's request, Attorney General Robert Kennedy provided protection by calling in federal marshals (Stanford University 2018). The SCLC further amplified the struggle for civil rights through the eponymous Selma-to-Montgomery marches of 1965. A critical component of the Movement was challenging the restrictive requirements used to prevent African Americans in the South from exercising their right to vote. The marches sought to bring the issue of voting rights via petition to Governor Wallace, and to raise awareness in the process. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his famous "How Long, Not Long" speech at the march's terminus, on the steps of the Alabama State Capitol in Montgomery.

The Selma-to-Montgomery marches were instrumental in the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The act banned the use of literacy tests, poll taxes, property-ownership requirements, moral character tests, and other restrictive actions enforced to prevent the access of African Americans to the polls. At the time of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, there were only six black members of the US House of Representatives and there was no black representation at all in the US Senate. By the early 1980s, there were thirteen black members of the House and a black Senator (Cobb 2018). In 1992, one hundred and seventeen years after Jeremiah Haralson left office, Earl Hilliard became the first African American elected to represent Alabama in Congress since Reconstruction. In 2011, Terri Sewell became the first African American woman elected to represent Alabama in Congress, where she serves Alabama's 7th Congressional district, including Birmingham, Selma and part of Montgomery. In the 116th Congress (2019-2021) there are 56 African American members of the House (out of a total of 435), and three African American Senators.

*"How long will prejudice blind
the visions of men, darken their
understanding, and drive bright-eyed
wisdom from her sacred throne?...
How long? Not long, because the arc of
the moral universe is long, but it bends
toward justice."*

*Martin Luther King Jr. on the steps of the
Alabama State Capitol
March 25, 1965*



Top: Selma-to-Montgomery March on South Jackson Street, 1965.



Bottom: Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955.





Selma-to-Montgomery march down Dexter Avenue,
taken from the Capitol steps looking out into the crowd.
Dexter Avenue Church on the left.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT, PLANNING, AND GOVERNANCE

Histories of occupation, political power, and land use inform an understanding of how Montgomery's physical landscape evolved over time. The city's geography and associated legacy as an important hub of industry, commerce, and transit likewise shaped its spatial development, which is more explicitly directed through contemporary planning initiatives.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Most of the land comprising central and eastern Alabama was inhabited by the Muscogee Creek people for centuries. Before American encroachment, the Creeks had established a number of towns clustered around the Alabama River, at the approximate location of modern-day Montgomery. Such towns included Encanchata, Tawasa, Pawokti, and Coosada (Wright, 2003). The only Creek settlement to be memorialized in Montgomery today is Encanchata ("Ecunchate") which is referenced on a historical marker on Commerce Street (Montgomery Area Chamber of Commerce Foundation 2013).

Throughout the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, the English, French and Spanish empires vied for control of present-day Alabama due to its trade commodities. These European colonizers lived in relative peace with the Native Americans, often forging alliances with chief leaders. The French and English built various forts throughout the region, including France's Fort Toulouse, located ten miles north of Montgomery (Sherwood 2008). The British formally ceded the land comprising present-day Alabama and Mississippi upon the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War, according to the terms of the 1783 Treaty of Versailles. After several annexations and territorial reconfigurations, Alabama was finally admitted as a new state in 1819.

American colonization of Alabama was facilitated by the nation's success at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, when US troops under the command of General Andrew Jackson defeated Red Stick Creek rebels in 1814. As retribution, the Creeks were forced to cede 23 million acres of land, paving the way for American

settlement throughout the state (Access Genealogy 2016). There were waves of voluntary and forced relocations of indigenous peoples during the 1800s to 1830s, but by 1836 President Andrew Jackson had ordered all Creeks to be relocated to Indian Territory following the Second Creek War. The first of these forced removals were prisoners of the Creek War:

"The Creek prisoners were marched from Fort Mitchell to Montgomery almost ninety miles away handcuffed in double-file formation with a chain connecting each prisoner... On the night of July 14, 1836 a detachment of over twenty-three hundred Creek prisoners left Montgomery and descended the Alabama River to Mobile" (Haveman 2009, 251-254).

Montgomery's Commerce Street riverfront continued to serve as a key point of debarkation for the remaining Creeks who were forcibly removed from the southern Alabama region through 1837, as they traveled to Mobile and onward to Oklahoma, along the Trail of Tears (Haveman 2009).



Map of Indian Removal (Trail of Tears) from the Southeast United States. Creeks were forcibly removed between 1832-1837 from the Montgomery region.

COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT

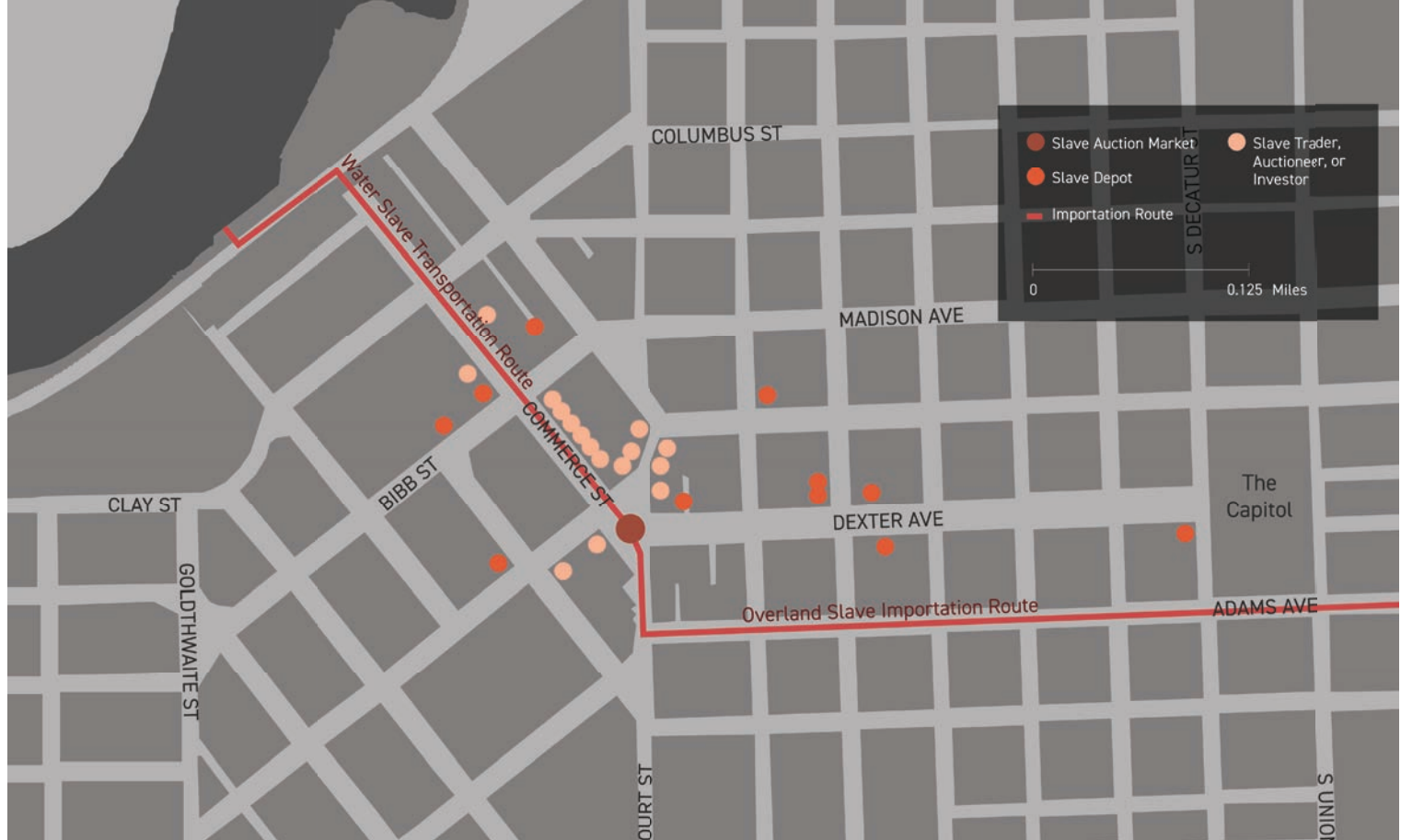
As noted previously, in 1819, the two settlements of East Alabama Town and New Philadelphia merged to become what is now Montgomery to economize and optimize their mercantile functions for the nascent agricultural enterprises being established in the hinterland. Montgomery's clashing street grid is a vestige of the city's origin as two separate cities; East Alabama Town's angled streets are perpendicular to the Alabama River (still evident in the downtown core), whereas New Philadelphia was platted in a standard Cartesian grid (Neeley 2008).

Due to the fertile soil of Southern Alabama and Montgomery's riverfront access, the city became the administrative and shipping nexus for the burgeoning slave-driven cotton trade. The forced labor of enslaved people became an essential economic component of the agricultural plantations throughout Alabama. At the time of the city's founding in 1820, Montgomery County had a population of approximately 2,600 enslaved people. By 1860, the enslaved population reached 23,710 in Montgomery County alone, with over 435,000 slaves in the entire state of Alabama (U.S. Census 1820; U.S. Census 1860).

Plat Map of Montgomery from 1842.



Montgomery's early industries were clustered along the Alabama River waterfront. A cotton slide was installed to convey bundles of picked cotton from warehouses on Commerce Street to the shipping docks, where steamboats quickly transported the raw product to the port city of Mobile. In addition to functioning as a trading depot for cotton, Montgomery's downtown also housed several Slave Markets where plantation owners could purchase enslaved Africans for cash. Every month, thousands of incoming enslaved people were brought from the waterfront and paraded up Commerce Street where they would be placed in one of several slave depots. By the start of the Civil War, there were more slave markets in Montgomery than there were schools and churches combined (Kachmar 2013).



Map of known locations associated with the Domestic Slave Trace, derived from research conducted by the Equal Justice Initiative.

Throughout the Antebellum period, Court Square remained the commercial and administrative hub of the city. It was home to the Post Office, Police Headquarters, several hotels, the Montgomery Advertiser newspaper office, and of course the Court House itself. A few ironworks and industrial facilities were clustered closer to the waterfront. Smaller-scale wood-framed buildings were dispersed throughout the nearby Goat Hill neighborhood, serving both residential and commercial functions. In 1846, various factors, including the advent of the railroad and statewide demographic resettlement patterns, prompted the Alabama State Legislature to move the state capital from Tuscaloosa to Montgomery. Goat Hill soon accommodated the new Capitol Building at the eastern end of Dexter Avenue.

Following the Civil War, Montgomery went through an economic transition as it diversified its formerly agricultural industries to encourage more manufacturing and professional services, such as insurance and real estate. An 1887 bird's-eye view map of Montgomery depicts several ironworks, an ice factory, gas works, soap works, a flouring mill, savings banks, a "sash, door and blind factory," and much more (Wellge 1887). By 1880, the city's population

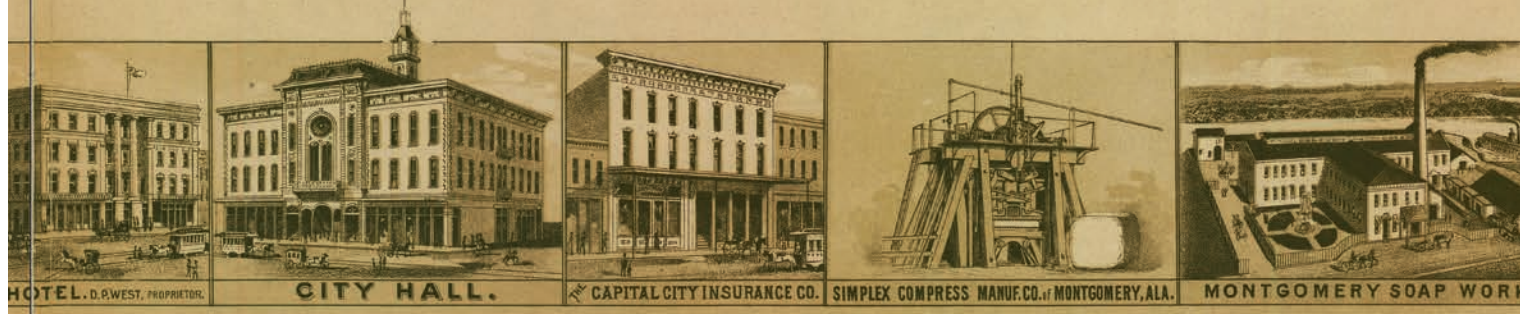


Etching of Court Square in the 1850s, looking down Dexter Avenue towards the Capitol.

grew to 16,713 residents, 59 percent of whom were Black (US Census 1880).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Montgomery had a bustling, predominantly white shopping area along Dexter Avenue in its downtown; black-owned businesses were relegated to Monroe Street. White-owned businesses also managed to segregate their consumer populations. For example, in the Kress Building, a large department store located between Dexter Avenue and Monroe Street, black patrons were required to use the blacks-only entrance on Monroe Street and were not allowed to go up to the second floor of the building. Furthermore, facilities such as the eating area and restrooms were also separated between black and white. ("Ready to Open Doors: New-Look Kress Doesn't Shy Away from History" n.d.). During the 1930s, many black entrepreneurs were forced to move to outerlying neighborhoods. Though many of their businesses became marginal enterprises, such as small-scale retail and personal services like barbers for the community, the decentralization of businesses away from Montgomery's commercial center allowed for Black businesses to thrive post-desegregation (Butler 1991).





1887 Birds-eye view drawing of Montgomery with key buildings called out along top and bottom borders. Close-up details on following page.

MONTGOMERY.

CAPITAL CITY.

ALABAMA.

35. Polak & Co., Dry Goods.

36. Exchange Hotel.

37. Windsor Hotel.

38. Merchants Hotel.

39. Opera House.

40. Montgomery Theatre.

41. Montgomery Soap Works.

42. Sash, Door and Blind Factory, Thoma & Gorrie, Props.

43. Sash, Door and Blind Factory, W. M. Hall, Prop.

44. Montgomery Flouring Mill.

45. James's Iron Foundry.

46. Montgomery Iron Works.

47. Alabama Fertilizer Works.

48. Alabama Oil Works.

49. Union Refining Co.

50. Montgomery Oil Works.

51. Standard.

52. Montgomery.

53. Central.

54. Chisley.

55. Southern.

56. Union Ware House & Elevator Co.

57. Montgomery Compress Co.

58. Chambers & Moore, Props.

59. Eagle Furniture Factory.

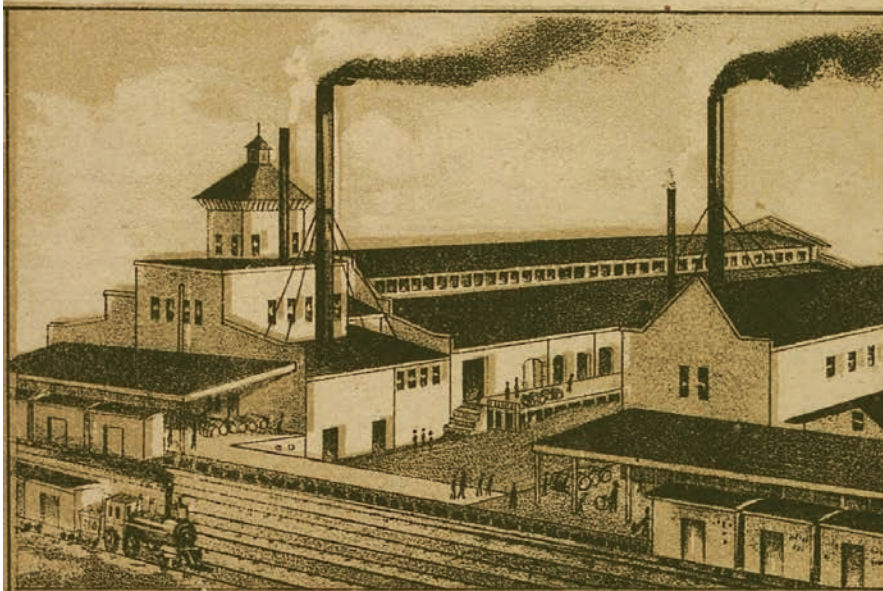
60. Montgomery Advertiser, daily.

61. Daily Dispatch.

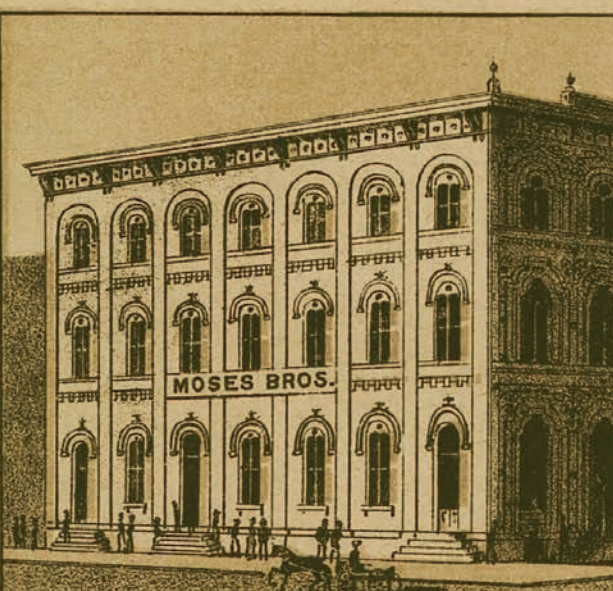
62. Standard Machine Co.

63. Keyling's Cotton Pickery.

64. Paper Box Factory.



MONTGOMERY COMPRESS CO.



MOSES BROS.
REAL ESTATE · INSURANCE · SAVINGS



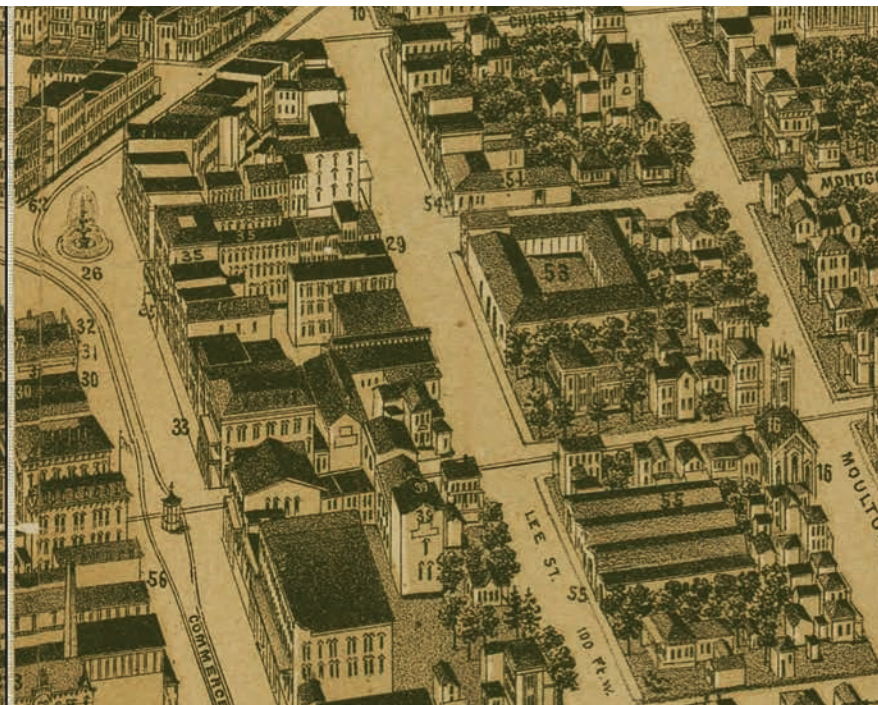
MONTGOMERY IRON WORKS.



J.R. ADAMS & CO. BANKERS, REAL ESTATE & INSURANCE.



POST OFFICE.



DEXTER AVE. LOOKING EAST, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Capital in distance



Bird's Eye View, showing Capitol,
Montgomery, Ala.



Historic postcards (c1905) depicting Dexter Avenue and
the Capitol.

TRANSPORTATION AND EXPANSION

By the mid-nineteenth century, the city benefited from numerous railroad lines that were funded and built by private enterprises. Montgomery's first successful railroad was the Montgomery and West Point Railroad, completed in 1851, which connected the city to West Point, Georgia. This transportation infrastructure was instrumental in facilitating the shipment of cotton from Montgomery to the Eastern Seaboard where it could be purchased and manufactured into finished goods. The Alabama and Florida railroad line was completed in 1861, morphing Montgomery into a regional transportation and industrial nexus (Lee 2009).

In 1886, Montgomery was the first city in the United States to establish an electric streetcar system, demonstrating the city's innovative vision and commitment to public transit. The Capital City Street Railway was put in operation under the supervision of engineers James Gaboury and Charles Van de Poele. Although the electric railway was run by a private operator, the City Council of Montgomery granted the right-of-way over the city's streets to the Capital

City Street Railway to "construct, maintain and operate a single or double line of street railroad" (City Council of Montgomery 1888).

This transportation infrastructure originated as just two routes that circulated from downtown Union Station into surrounding neighborhoods. As new lines extended out to the urban periphery, it spurred the creation of several new "streetcar suburbs" of single-family homes, such as Cottage Hill, Highland Park, Cloverdale, and Capitol Heights (King and Pell 2010). This growth was not coincidental. Edward Joseph, then-president of Capital City Street Railway became a land speculator for Highland Park when tracks extended to the district in 1887 (King and Pell 2010). Today, a number of these streetcar suburbs are locally designated or National Register-listed Historic Districts (refer to the map of HDs later in the report). The trolley system operated for fifty years until it was terminated in 1936 and replaced by autobuses.

This bus network, Montgomery City Lines, operated under the guise of racial segregation until 1956, when the Supreme Court of the United States ruled bus segregation was illegal in *Browder v. Gayle* (McGhee

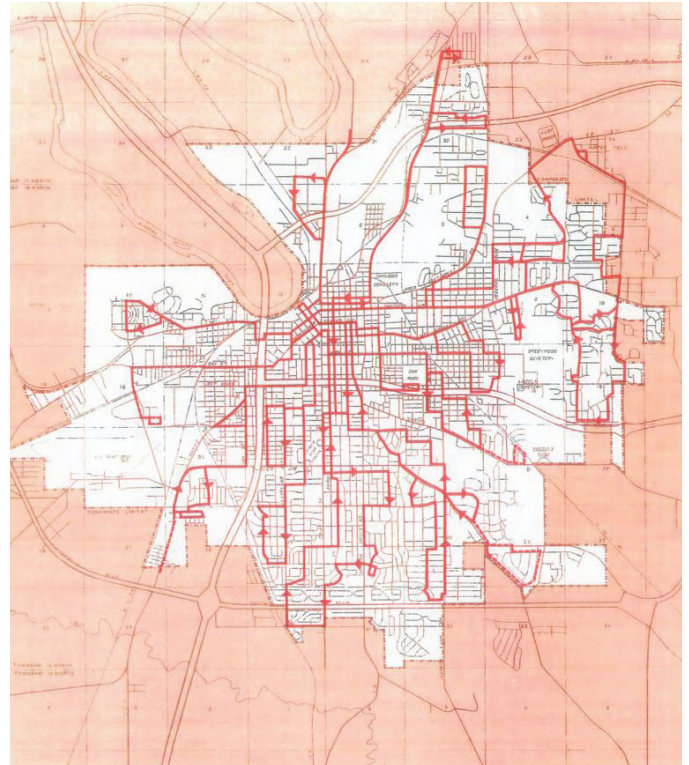
c1907 Photograph of streetcars along Dexter Avenue.



2015). In 1963, the Montgomery City Lines company operated fourteen bus routes throughout the city, covering every major residential neighborhood. The downtown bus terminal was located at Court Square. All routes passed through this central node, allowing passengers to make necessary transfers and to wait at a protected enclosure (Montgomery City Planning Commission 1963). Many buses stopped running shortly after sundown based on the perception that Montgomery did not have enough evening activities to justify service past business operating hours (Montgomery City Planning Commission 1963).

In 1974, the Montgomery Area Transit System, colloquially known as the “M”, was purchased by the city. By 1998, the 17 fixed routes operated by the M were replaced by a “demand and response transit” (DART) system due to reductions in federal operating support (Montgomery Metropolitan Planning Organization 2015). This system required passengers to make reservations in advance to arrange pick up. The DART system only lasted for two years as it did not serve citizens in an effective and efficient manner. Montgomery Area Transit System gradually re-introduced fixed routes beginning in 2000 (Montgomery Metropolitan Planning Organization 2015). Today, the M operates 17 routes that connect the downtown core to areas as far as the Montgomery Regional Airport, Maxwell Airforce Base, and Auburn University at Montgomery. Many routes originate at the newly-built Intermodal Transportation Center located along the riverfront.

Although the majority of the buses in 2018 follow the same general morphology of the 1963 routes — originating in downtown Montgomery and radiating out to the outer residential areas — there are a few modern routes that connect outlying districts without entering the central city. Another change has been the geographic expansion of some routes, which have paralleled the outward growth of the city during the final decades of the twentieth century. Today, the M provides service seven miles further east than it did in the 1960s. Although the system has extended its operations outward, it has consequently sacrificed some service within Montgomery’s central neighborhoods. For example, there are no longer buses south of Interstate-85 between Rosa Parks Avenue and McDonough Street.



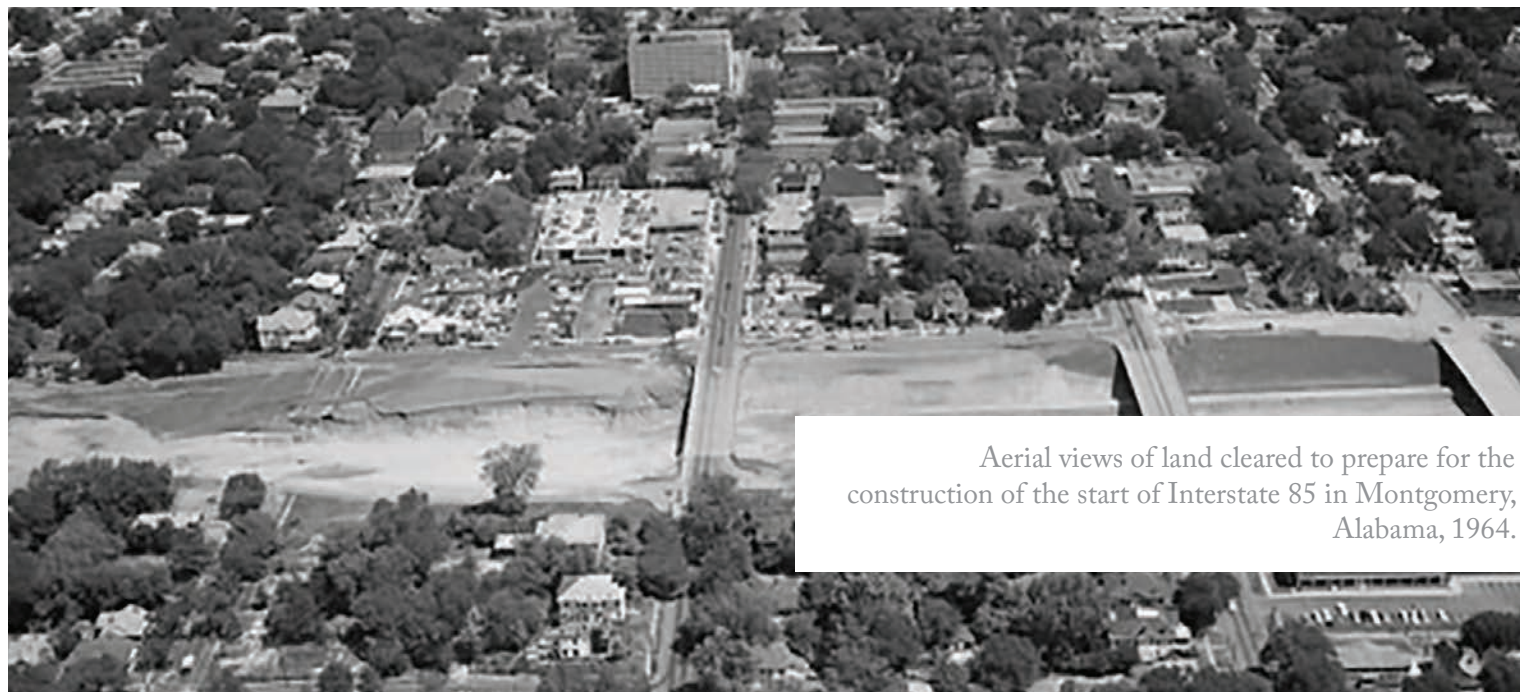
Top: Map of city bus lines c1963.

Bottom: Screenshot of city bus lines taken in 2018.

Montgomery is one of many American cities that found itself expanding outward rather than upward during the latter half of the twentieth century. This growth pattern was largely attributed to the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, which resulted in the construction of two interstate highways; I-65 and I-85. I-65 runs north-south for 900 miles connecting Gary, Indiana to Mobile, Alabama, while I-85 runs east-west for 660 miles between Montgomery and Petersburg, Virginia. This major investment in roadway infrastructure had profound effects on the city's landscape, creating pedestrian unfriendly sunken thoroughfares and overpasses, which essentially supplanted the public transit infrastructure.

Ancillary to this shift toward car-based transit has been investment in parking infrastructure, especially in the downtown area. Currently, Montgomery has approximately 2,500 parking spaces, including five security patrolled and lighted decks (Public Parking n.d.). On-street parking is limited to two hours during the workday, compelling visitors to the downtown to utilize the parking structures, which are mostly located in or near the Lower Commerce area. Recently public parking is free on weekdays after 6 p.m. and all day on Saturdays and Sundays. (Public Parking n.d.). This policy was launched in 2016 and remains in effect today as a way to incentivize downtown visitation outside of the workday.

A series of annexations expanded Montgomery's city limits and new technologies such as the streetcar and roadway expansions made it easier to live beyond the urban core. Though the City had 233 annexations since 1900, it experienced its biggest areal growth in the 1980s when it expanded by 83 square miles, forming its vaguely rectangular extent that we still see today (Department of City Planning 2018). The city continues to expand to the eastern agricultural lands in a pockmarked fashion. The town of Pike Road was established in 1997 to decelerate Montgomery's rapid eastward annexation. The 1980s annexations subsumed several important employers into the city's boundary, including the Maxwell Airforce Base, Montgomery Regional Airport, and the Hyundai Factory.



Aerial views of land cleared to prepare for the construction of the start of Interstate 85 in Montgomery, Alabama, 1964.

DENSITY, WALKABILITY, AND OPEN SPACE

This outward expansion and shift toward car-based transit led to greater diffusion of Montgomery's population. Nevertheless, the city's population density of 1,232 persons/square mile is far greater than the rest of the county, which only averages 43 persons/square mile (American Community Survey 2016). In terms of building, or formal density, the downtown district along Dexter Avenue and Commerce Street represents the most densely built up area of the city.

At the same time, the majority of downtown's limited open space is clustered around Dexter Avenue, namely the Capitol Grounds, RSA Plaza, Lower Dexter Pocket Park, and Court Square. Riverfront Park and Wright Brothers Park provide access to and views of the Alabama River. However, both of these areas have significant limitations. Wright Brothers Park is located on a steep slope and is essentially just a strip of grass. There is a pavilion and some art pieces, but the park largely has no infrastructure. Riverfront Park, although it has a rich history and some level of interpretation and amenities, only has one entrance through a dark, unwelcoming tunnel.

Montgomery has received federal assistance toward "greening" the downtown through the Environmental Protection Agency's Greening America's Capitals program, which helps state capital cities develop plans for environmentally-friendly and sustainable neighborhoods. One such plan, entitled "Greening the Selma to Montgomery Trail: Reconnecting and Remembering," centers around the Selma-to-Montgomery Marches of 1965, with the goal of improving the walkability and bikeability of the existing trail while enhancing the appearance of the neighborhoods that are connected by it. The not-yet-realized plan hopes to valorize the significance of the trail, and includes green infrastructure and roadway redesigns that are in line with the mixed-use streetscapes of the historic downtown.

Despite these greening efforts, Montgomery is lacking in quantity, quality, and geographic distribution of public green and open spaces. There is very little open space in the western and southern quadrants of the study area. Five of the six open spaces below Interstate 85 are facilities on the Alabama State University Campus, including the central quad and four sports fields. Furthermore, the entire neighborhood of Cloverdale has only one public park.

Map of open spaces within the studio study area; most open spaces are not actually green spaces.



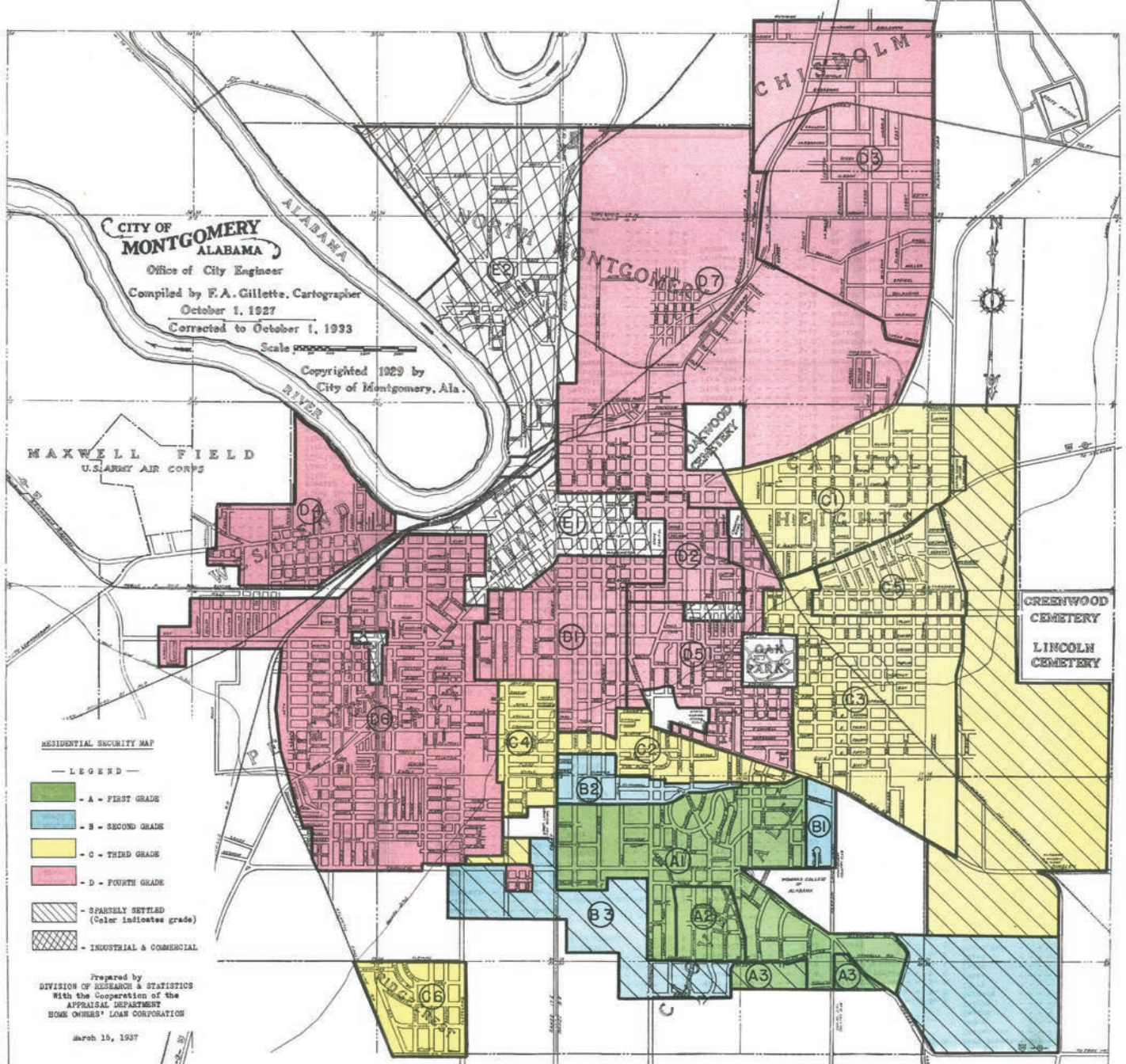
This is due, in part, to the fraught history of public parks in the city during the Civil Rights era. Until the 1950s, the city's parks were de facto segregated. In 1957, after *Brown v. Board of Education*, Montgomery passed an ordinance formally prohibiting African Americans from using public parks. Oak Park, the largest open space in the study area (after Oakwood Cemetery), was the site that spurred the case of *Gilmore v. City of Montgomery* (1959 and 1974), which challenged the arrest of an African American man who walked through the park on his way home from work. After the Montgomery ordinance was struck down by the courts, the city opted to close all of its public parks and recreational facilities – including sports fields, swimming pools, and the Oak Park zoo – rather than integrate (Encyclopedia of Alabama). Although many of these facilities were re-opened by the 1970s, the legacy of this decision has left scars on Montgomery's landscape and communities that persist today.

REDLINING

Exclusionary land use decisions likewise influenced the landscape and communities of Montgomery through the practice known as redlining, which played a critical role in urban development throughout the United States from the 1930s on. The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), a federal agency established under President Roosevelt's New Deal, developed maps that assessed lending risk, in collaboration with the private banking industry and local governments. These maps consequently served as references in decision-making about urban investment for years to come, including mortgage lending and access to capital, road and highway building, and residential and commercial redevelopment.

HOLC aimed to refinance home mortgages that were in default or at risk of foreclosure due to the 1929 crash and the collapse of the housing industry. By 1936, HOLC had provided just over one million new mortgages and had lent out approximately \$350 billion (\$750 billion today) (Roosevelt Institute 2012). HOLC created "Residential Security" maps of major American cities, which document how loan officers, appraisers, and real estate professionals evaluated mortgage lending risk during the era immediately before the rise of suburbanization in the 1950s (Mitchell and Franco 2018). These maps color-coded neighborhoods: green for the "Best," blue for "Still Desirable," yellow for "Definitely Declining," and red for "Hazardous." There are pervasive correlations between low-income, minority, and immigrant neighborhoods and those areas designated as "Definitely Declining" and "Hazardous," and Montgomery was no exception.

The economic and racial segregation created by "redlining" persists in many cities. In a study analyzing correlations between historic HOLC determinations and contemporary conditions across US cities, Mitchell and Franco (2018) found that 74 percent of neighborhoods that the HOLC graded as high-risk, or "Hazardous," eight decades ago are low-to-moderate income today. Additionally, most of the HOLC graded "Hazardous" areas (nearly 64 percent) are minority neighborhoods now (Mitchell and Franco 2018).



In the specific case of Montgomery, these more generalized trends are even more prevalent. During the HOLC assessments of the 1930s, the city's central business district was designated as industrial and commercial by the HOLC, thus not graded in terms of residential security. But all immediately surrounding residential neighborhoods were graded as "Hazardous." As of 2010, 98.69 percent of the residents of Montgomery's "Hazardous" neighborhoods were low-to-moderate income and 98.92 percent were non-white (Mitchell and Franco 2018), suggesting that these HOLC designations promoted a form of socioeconomic segregations that persists in landscape of modern Montgomery.

1937 Home Owners' Loan Corporation Map for City of Montgomery.

Chart on facing page: Racial breakdown for the city of Montgomery based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

COMMUNITY DEMOGRAPHICS

Understanding the changes in the physical urban fabric of Montgomery necessitates an understanding of the changes in community that have occurred over time. The evolution of a city and its built environment is driven by the community that inhabits that space. Thus, it is important to look at how demography has shifted over time as it provides insight into the reasoning behind these physical changes. There are some limitations to this analysis however, as the studio study area is made up of census tracts which were drawn in 1960. Therefore longitudinal change within this study area was only charted in detail over the past 60 years, using data from the U.S. Census Bureau.

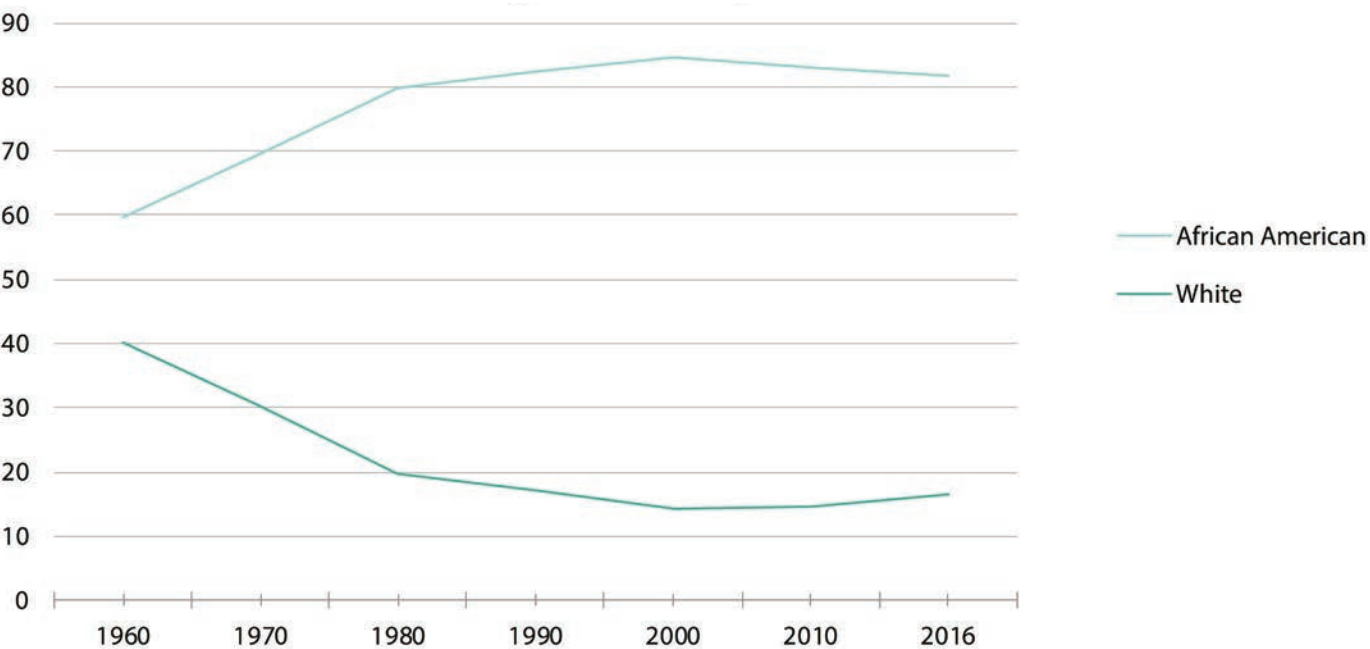
The breakdown of racial demography in the entire state of Alabama has remained mostly African American and White since 1850, with a small spike in the Hispanic/Latino community in the past few decades (jumping from 0.6% in 1990 to 4.3% in 2010). The portion of white population has slowly increased over the past 150 years from 55.3% in 1850 to 69.2% in 2010, while the African American population has decreased from 44.7% in 1850 to 26.8% in 2010. The total population of Alabama has increased from 771,623 in 1850 to 4,779,736 in 2010.

Contrary to the entire state of Alabama, the racial demographics of Montgomery county have fluctuated quite a bit over the past 150 years. In 1850, the recorded population was about 25% white and 75% black. As the turn of the century approaches, both populations appear to grow steadily.

The City of Montgomery is one of two incorporated municipalities in Montgomery County. The city comprises 88 percent of the county’s total population, but only 20 percent of the county’s total area. The city had almost 200,000 residents as of 2016, making it Alabama’s second-most populous city.

Within the studio study area, the nuances of demographic trends over the second half of the twentieth century become even more apparent. As the population density began to decline in 1960, the percent of the population that identified as black began to rise as the population that identified as white began to decline. The black population grew from 59.7 percent in 1960 to 83 percent in 2010. The white population declines significantly from 40 percent in 1960 to 14.6 percent in 2010. The areas within our study area that have seen the greatest change in racial demographics are Census Tracts 15 and 7, both seeing over a 70 percent increase in the proportion of the population that is black. Census Tract 15 is located in

RACIAL BREAKDOWN BY PERCENTAGE 1960-2016



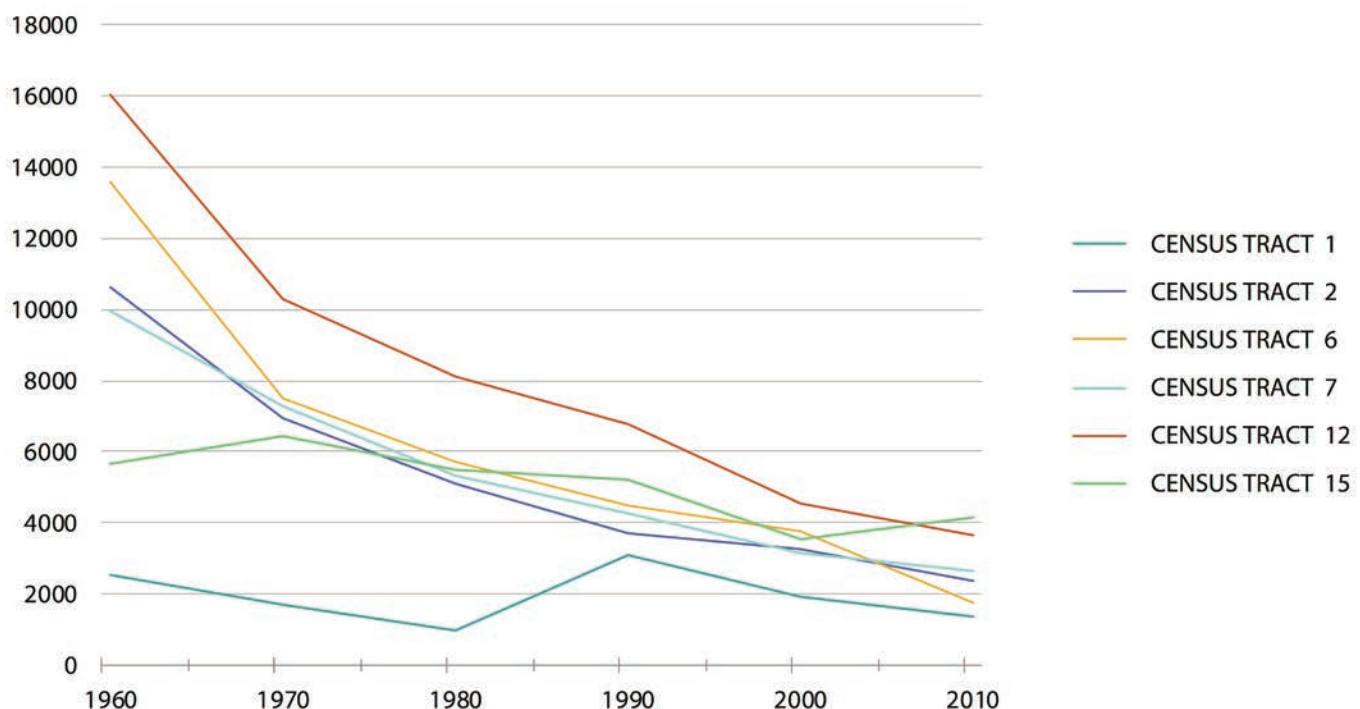
the southeast corner of our study area just below I-85 and includes Alabama State University and the Forest Park neighborhood. Census Tract 7 is just to the west of census tract 15 and is also just south of I-85. Census Tracts 1 and 2 both saw a 65 percent increase in the proportional percentage of blacks; these include the riverfront, Cottage Hill, the Capitol, and a portion of Centennial Hill. The census tracts that have seen the least amount of demographic change are tracts 6 and 12, which have both remained at above 90 percent black.

Through this same time period, the population density within our study area declined significantly, dropping 50 percent from 1960 to 1980, and another 40 percent from 1980 to 2010. The census tract that has seen the greatest drop in population density is Census Tract 6 which decreased 87 percent from 1960 to 2010. This Census Tract includes the eastern part of Centennial Hill as well as Oak Park. Census Tracts 2 and 12 have the next highest decrease in population density at 77 percent.

Today, the study area is made up of 81.8 percent black and 16 percent white. The median household income is \$17,930. The median income for black households is \$14,878 and \$47,339 for white households.

These changes mirror nationwide trends of white flight from American cities. As integration began to be implemented in the second half of the twentieth century, white populations generally moved out to the suburbs creating a new form of segregation created by these migratory patterns. Because of the financial privilege held by the white population they were able to voluntarily uproot from downtown leaving the black population with inequitable allocations of public services to maintain safety and infrastructure. As shown in the above maps, the black population today mirrors the Home Owner's Loan Corporation maps. The events that have occurred throughout the history Montgomery leave a stamp on how the city exists today.

POPULATION DENSITY: PEOPLE/SQ MILE IN THE STUDY AREA



Percent of Population
that is African
American in 2018

- 57% - 71%
- 71% - 79%
- 79% - 94%
- 94% - 100%

0.25 Miles 1

HOLC Designations

- "Best"
- "Desirable"
- "Declining"
- "Hazardous"

0.25 Miles 1

MANAGING MONTGOMERY'S BUILT ENVIRONMENT— AN OVERVIEW

Montgomery employs a Mayor-Council system of government. The Council has the power to pass ordinances and resolutions, regulate land use through zoning laws, and exercise eminent domain, while the Mayor enforces all laws and ordinances, prepares and submits annual budgets to the Council and recommends actions to the Council (City of Montgomery n.d.).

Within the city government, the Department of Planning works to ensure the orderly use of land as it relates to enhancing and maintaining the economic, aesthetic, physical viability of the city. The Department of Planning consists of the Community Development Division and the Planning Control Division.

The Community Development Division is responsible for the disbursement of federal, state, and local funds to allocate to low-to-moderate income individuals/families in the city limits of Montgomery (City of Montgomery n.d.). The Community Development Division has been working to stabilize the area around West Fairview Avenue between Court Street and I-65 for the past several years. Completed projects include the new Fairview Environmental Park, the West Fairview Commercial Corridor Façade Improvement programs and ongoing infrastructure improvements in partnership with the Alabama Department of Transportation. The Community Development Division's goals for the 2018 planning period focus on continuing neighborhood revitalization efforts, providing affordable housing and assisting low-income, public service, homeless, and special needs.

The Planning Controls Division is responsible for the daily operations of the Zoning Ordinance, Subdivision Regulations, and Historic Ordinance. They are also the staff for Board of Adjustment, Historic Preservation Commission, Architectural Review Board and the Planning Commission (City of Montgomery n.d.).

The Planning Commission deals with recommendations on development plans (commercial, office and industrial), approval of plats, and recommendations to the City Council to rezone. The Planning Commission is a nine-member board, appointed by the City Council (City of Montgomery n.d.).

The Architectural Review Board (ARB) reviews all requests for exterior changes and surface improvements to historic structures in order to keep the planned improvements consistent with the neighborhood context (City of Montgomery n.d.). The ARB works closely with the Historic Preservation Commission (HPC). The HPC aims to preserve and protect of structures and districts of historic significance and interest. It also promotes and enhances Montgomery's historic and aesthetic attraction to tourists and visitors. Local historic designation means an individual structure or neighborhood has been recognized by the city as being architecturally or historically significant to the community. The Architectural Review Board follows design guidelines as a basis for evaluating proposed changes.

The Board of Adjustments reviews applications for variances of non-permitted uses. It is capable of granting exceptions to the zoning ordinances in cases where “the literal and rigid interpretation and enforcement of the zoning laws would result in hardship or injustice” (Montgomery Zoning Ordinance). It works with three kinds of applications: administrative review is to hear and decide appeals which allege there is an error made by the administrative official in the enforcement of the Zoning Ordinance; an application for a variance seeks permission to do something which is not in conformance with or violates the zoning ordinance; and, most common are the applications for a special exception. .

Left: City Hall of Montgomery, AL
Right: Seal of the City of Montgomery



ENVISION MONTGOMERY 2040

Montgomery is currently developing a new master plan: Envision Montgomery 2040. The City of Montgomery has completed just one previous master plan process, which accompanied the passage of the City's Zoning Ordinance in 1963. The City aims for this new master planning process to be community-driven by creating frameworks and recommendations that will guide decision-making in Montgomery for years to come (City of Montgomery Planning Department 2018).

Envision Montgomery 2040 guides the involvement of different stakeholders through a multi-year planning process. A steering committee composed of 50 intentionally selected community leaders from a wide range of interests and backgrounds decides the overall priorities and helps elicit ideas and public support. An outreach team also helps engage the public by identifying major networks and hard to reach groups in Montgomery. A team of planning consultants (led by Planning NEXT of Columbus, Ohio) coordinates this community engagement with technical analysis to create a 2040 Comprehensive Plan for Montgomery. Importantly, Montgomery city staff provide technical, outreach, and logistical support throughout the planning process. While Montgomery and its team of consultants have gone to great lengths in arranging community outreach, the process appears to neglect the topic of historic resources. At the close of the Envision Montgomery 2040 process, the planning consultants aim to deliver community-approved initiatives to public officials who can then act on implementation for the City of Montgomery.

The City of Montgomery has not developed a comprehensive plan since 1963, but the City, County, and region have completed a variety of other plans and studies since that time. Most recently, Envision Montgomery 2040 released a Community Factbook which uses 2016 American Community Survey and US Census data to provide an overview of existing conditions and trends for the Montgomery community. The Factbook is the first piece of a two-part approach to technical analysis for the 2040 Comprehensive Plan. The Factbook focuses on three community characteristics: People (population, household characteristics, and demographic trends), Prosperity (economy and employment, income, poverty, housing cost, and education), and Place (development, land use and character, housing, transportation, and parks and open space). Key findings discussed in the Factbook include the City's limited growth in population between 2000 and 2016, the increase of 3,000 jobs from 2010, and a 182% increase in the City's Hispanic/Latinx population (City of Montgomery Planning Department 2018).

Another planning document, the Montgomery 2040 Long Range Transportation Plan, outlines the condition and function of transportation routes through the region and makes recommendations for repairs and investments. The 2040 Long Range Transportation Plan (LRTP) was adopted in 2015. It is the 5-year update of the 2035 LRTP. The 2040 LRTP identifies the long range transportation needs for year 2040 through "multi-faceted, integrated, qualitative, and quantitative analyses" (City of Montgomery Planning Department 2018). Multimodal recommendations are made and prioritized; implementation strategies are associated with the projected federal, state, and local funding. The plan development process involved the public and local stakeholders through meetings and other outreach efforts.

Other recent planning documents include: the Downtown Montgomery Master Plan (2007, developed to guide future growth and development in the heart of Montgomery), Joint Land Use

Plan (2017, integrates military base activities with the surrounding community), Walk Bike River Region (2017, assessing demand for walking and biking, extensive public input to better understand needs and priorities, focusing on safety, equity, and feasibility, identifying key projects, programs, and policies for a comprehensive approach to creating active places), and various Neighborhood Plans (many of the City's more than 200 distinct neighborhoods have developed their own plans in recent years) (City of Montgomery Planning Department 2018).

This long-term decision process holds discussions on a wide range of topics, including land use, transportation, housing and community development, economic development, community facilities and infrastructure, environment, parks/recreation and open space, education and cultural arts, community character and urban design, military, public health, and historic preservation (City of Montgomery Planning Department 2018) All of the stakeholders are welcome to provide their thoughts and suggestions by using "Meeting in a Box," attending the in-person workshops, or leaving a comment on the website, EnvisionMontgomery2040.org. Based on the Montgomery Community Factbook, as well as opinions from residents and business owners, the Comprehensive Plan will come out as a community-driven work.



CITY-STATE DYNAMICS

As the state capital of Alabama since 1846, Montgomery hosts a large state political system. Nonetheless, the City of Montgomery also governs itself as an individual municipality (Sherwood 2008). This dual identity between City and State is reflected in Montgomery's government structure and decision-making processes, especially in the case of city planning and historic preservation.

The State of Alabama is the second biggest employer in Montgomery (after Maxwell-Gunter Air Force Base) while the City of Montgomery ranks seventh (Montgomery Area Chamber of Commerce 2018). At the same time, the state establishment enjoys numerous privileges from the City. The state property, which occupies a great proportion of land in downtown Montgomery, is not liable for property tax, creating a drain on the financial capacity of the city. The fact that the State government does not need to comply with the City's zoning ordinance nor with state building and energy codes, exacerbates the discord between them. With different priorities, the state and the municipality have a broad conflict of interests.

The political and economic dominance of the state is strongly reflected in the built environment and in the planning governance of Montgomery.

As shown in the map (top right), the Alabama Capitol is surrounded by State-owned property. It is important to note that government property can include residential, commercial and industrial land, as well as other physical assets, such as machinery. In the downtown area of Montgomery, State-owned properties include the State Capitol, Alabama Department of Labor, State of Alabama Personnel Department, Alabama State House, and Alabama Power Appliance Center, among others. Three blocks of State-owned parking surround the Capitol complex. As the capital of Alabama, Montgomery's State-owned properties are indispensable yet place a strain on the municipality's ability to shape the built environment.

While conducting the studio's field research in Montgomery, the downtown's many tall, green-roofed buildings were impossible to ignore. Protruding several floors above surrounding structures, these modernist buildings clearly depart from the urban scale of the rest of downtown Montgomery. These buildings



are owned by the Retirement Systems of Alabama (RSA), an agency that maintains the pension funds for employees of the State of Alabama. According to the Montgomery County Revenue Commission, the Retirement Systems of Alabama owns 19 parcels in downtown Montgomery, all located very near the Capitol building.

The RSA can be described as a supra-state organization because legislation allows them to operate above state and city building codes (WSFA 12 News 2017). The RSA seems to invest most of its clients' funds (the pensions earned by public sector employees of the state) into real estate, capitalizing on its status as a developer that does not have to abide by the typical rules of building and zoning codes. This privilege allows for many out-of-scale and insensitive buildings.

On street level, these buildings have dramatically altered the historic fabric of the city. Entire blocks have been cleared for parking garages and towers, and many small-scale downtown buildings have been lost (for additional analysis, see the section on Dexter Avenue).



Above: When combined, the property ownership of downtown Montgomery is concentrated in the hands of the State and RSA.

Below: The skyline of Montgomery is also greatly impacted by this ownership breakdown.







Views of the RSA tower (located on Pollard Street); top right taken from Dexter Avenue, bottom taken from Perry Street.

CHARACTERIZING CHANGE

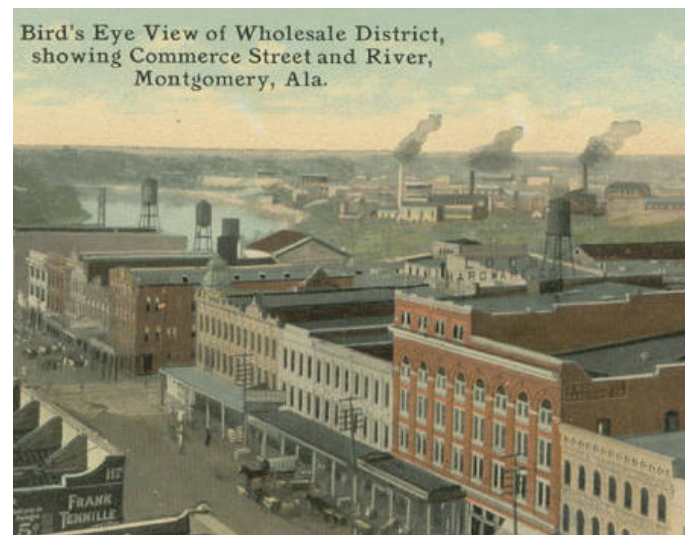
The City of Montgomery is facing numerous challenges as it begins the process of putting together the 2040 comprehensive plan. As part of the studio's research, a number of locations were identified for further investigation of how the city's built environment has evolved, and the social, political, and economic forces that influenced that evolution. These "deep dives" show patterns of development and changes in urban form over time. In general, there has been a lack of growth in public transit, a decline in commercial vitality, an increase in vacancy rates, and a lack of connectivity between neighborhoods and with downtown.

At the surface of all of this, there is an increasing tension between the city and the state in terms of land ownership and use, as characterized in the previous section. This severely limits the ability of the City to effect change through city-wide planning efforts or initiatives and has also perhaps been a factor in declining commercial vitality. For instance, Commerce Street used to be lined with 3- to 5-story masonry buildings and even had its own light rail passenger line. Even up until the 1950s, there were few vacancies along the street and changing businesses adaptively reused the existing masonry structures. However, this vibrant commercial corridor abruptly lost the southwestern streetwall to the RSA's Renaissance Hotel, completed in 2008.

A parallel story was happening on Dexter Avenue during this time. In the early 1900s, the street was lined with commercial activity meant to support downtown residents: drug stores, laundromat, supply stores. Beginning in the 1910s, these stores were replaced with auto shops and garages. Today, there are a number of lots on Dexter Avenue that are dominated by full-lot parking garages. The vacancy rate is high along the street and only a few shops remain. The recently renovated Kress Building on Dexter could be the first step in bringing back vibrant commercial activity to this once-important corridor. Change may also be coming north of Dexter Avenue as the City has begun to sell some of its former industrial land; most

notably, a parcel which has been recently purchased by the Equal Justice Initiative.

Furthermore, the construction of Interstate Highways 85 and 65 caused neighborhoods to become disconnected, which is particularly apparent in Cottage Hill and the area around Holt Street. Although the interstates were federal projects, the City itself has also been the cause of disconnection. The HOLC redlining maps, created in collaboration with the Office of the City Engineer, seem to have influenced the location of these thoroughfares. Oak Park once housed the Montgomery Zoo and was widely used. However, the City destroyed most of the park infrastructure in protest to desegregation, and the Park has never fully recovered.



Historic postcards (c1910) of Commerce Street (above) and Dexter Avenue (below).

COMMERCE STREET

In the early nineteenth century, the Lower American South thrived on its plantation economy. Crops such as tobacco and cotton were tended to and cultivated using enslaved labor from the Transatlantic Slave Trade. In 1807, however, the Transatlantic Slave Trade was outlawed, fueling the growth of the Domestic Slave Trade, for which Montgomery, specifically Commerce Street, served as a primary hub. By 1842, Commerce Street was platted and occupied between the Riverfront and Market Street. This area was given the nickname “The Warehouse District” for the slave and cotton warehouses that permeated the area.



The Belshaw Building at 8 Commerce Street, 1870.

New transportation technologies led Montgomery to grow at a rapid pace. By 1847, a steamboat line that went directly to Commerce Street via the Alabama River reaffirmed Montgomery’s place as a center for slave trading, and in 1851, rail yards were built and extended into warehouses on Commerce Street between Water and Tallapoosa Streets. These lines connected Alabama to much of the Lower South including Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida, where enslaved labor only grew in demand.

By 1887, Commerce Street was almost fully built out with three- to four-story commercial buildings with old slave warehouses distributed throughout. As time marched on, the buildings were repurposed for a variety of uses, including banks, post offices, and restaurants. At this time, Commerce Street had cemented itself as the flagship commercial center for Montgomery. Simultaneously, the Lightning Route passenger light rail had been built the year prior and had its terminus

and turn around down Commerce Street. It operated lines that extended into Montgomery via Dexter Avenue and South Court Street. In 1897, Union Station was built by the Riverfront, and brought in 44 passenger trains into downtown Montgomery everyday.

By 1912, many of the low-rise buildings were razed and replaced by buildings that grew to be six stories or higher. The large U-shaped building between the riverfront and Tallapoosa (see figure) was replaced by a series of three to five-story masonry buildings. Some infill happened with structures built at the corner of Commerce and Tallapoosa. An unknown tower



Historic postcard (c1920) of Commerce Street near the river at night.

structure in middle of Bibb and Commerce indicated on 1887 map is no longer seen. Formal density also grew around Court Square at the end of Commerce. In the mid-nineteenth century, Commerce remained the economic center of Montgomery. Between Montgomery and Bibb Streets, Commerce was lined with neighborhood and commercial services such as banks, a post office, restaurants, hotels, and various merchandise. Commerce was also a center for culture, with a movie theatre, a pool hall, and a shooting gallery all within the same block. However, most of these buildings were built right around the turn of the century, and the street continued to evolve through building adaptations, demolitions, and new construction.

For example, 8 Commerce Street was first home to the Belshaw Building, a two-story commercial building built in 1830. After the building of the neighboring Central Bank Building in 1856, the Belshaw building



Example of commercial revitalization between Commerce and Coosa Streets in the recent “Alley” opening.

was admonished in local newspapers for not adhering to the newest architectural styles. It was later replaced in 1887 by a six-story Second Empire-style “skyscraper” employing steel in construction and other technological advancements. Within 20 years, the skyscraper was replaced by the twelve-story First Bank Building, which still stands today.

In the 1950s, Commerce Street had a few commercial vacancies and lot mergers. There appeared to be a lull in construction with new businesses generally keeping the same masonry structures, just adapting their uses to the form of the building, unlike neighboring Lee Street.

More recently, Commerce Street has seen redevelopment and new construction. Montgomery Riverfront Park was reclaimed from industrial use and redeveloped in 2004 in an effort to revitalize the downtown as a destination. An expansion of the park began in 2011, with a commercial space currently operating as a pseudo-beachfront bar and interpretive signage.

Adjacent to Union Station is the Alabama Convention Center and Montgomery Renaissance Hotel complex, which was built in 2008 by RSA. Old amenities that used to line Commerce in the 1960s, such as restaurants and entertainment halls, were amalgamated into this complex on the western street wall of Montgomery Street.

A year later in 2009, The Alley, an entertainment district anchored by cultural institutions was developed using existing structures along Commerce Street, maintaining the nineteenth century streetwall. Properties that were vacant since the mid-twentieth century were suddenly filled with a diversity of commercial uses, including the Equal Justice Initiative Legacy Museum, the Hank Williams Museum, multicultural restaurants, and larger-scale hotels.

With all of these changes, Commerce Street continues to reinvent its commercial character. From its early slave warehouse history to its more recent investment in tourism development, Commerce Street remains an important corridor in the cultural and economic life of the City of Montgomery.

Commerce St. showing first sky-scraper, Montgomery, Ala.



Top: Postcard (c1905) of Lower Commerce Street near Court Square.

Bottom: Existing conditions with little historic fabric remaining.



Top: Postcard (c1905) of Commerce Street near the river.

Bottom: Evidence of relatively intact historic building fabric.



Top: Image of Commerce Street near the river, facing toward Court Square from National Register nomination in 1978.

Bottom: Existing conditions shows one side of the street to be intact, and the other not.



Top: Image of Coosa Street (behind Commerce Street) near the river from National Register nomination in 1978.

Bottom: Evidence of largely intact historic building fabric.

COURT SQUARE

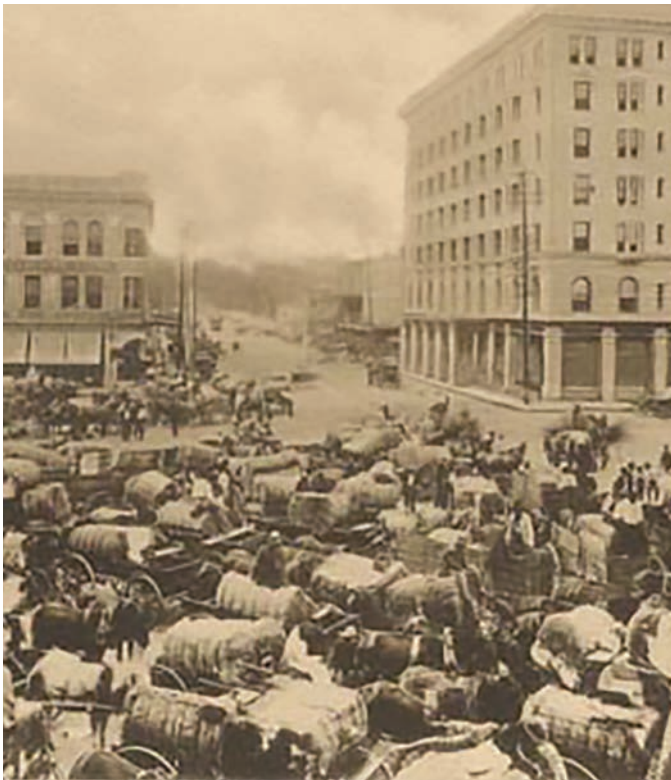
Court Square was the location of an artesian well used by Native Alabamians prior to European Settlement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Populations in nearby East Alabama Town and New Philadelphia made use of the well, and it acted as a geographic center for the newly formed Montgomery in 1819. The city had nicknamed this area “The Basin.”

The Courthouse from which Court Square derived its current name was built in 1821, after the joining of East Alabama and New Philadelphia. The original structure was torn down in 1834 and replaced with a brick masonry courthouse. However, in 1851, the Alabama State Court abandoned the site and moved to Washington and Adams Streets a few blocks west.

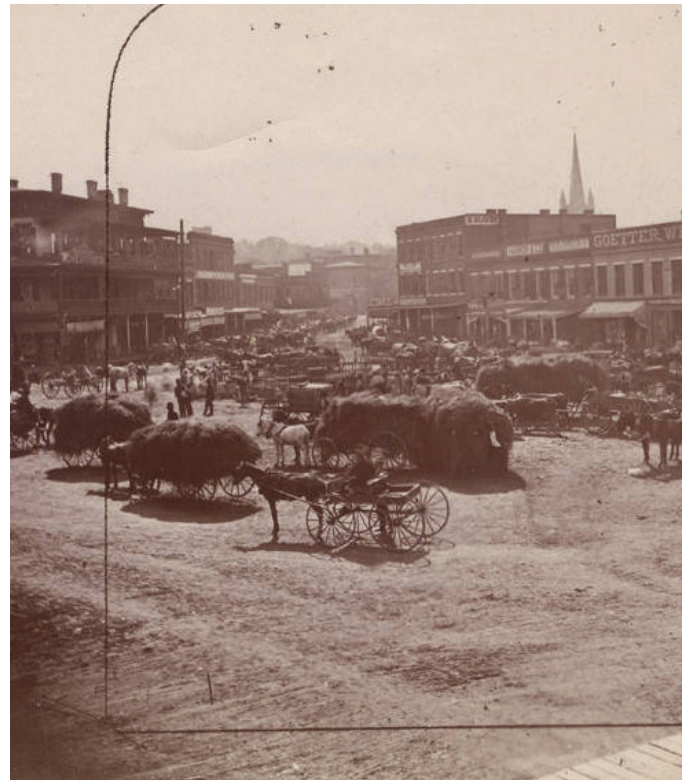
As Montgomery’s prominence as the hub of the Domestic Slave Trade grew, Court Square, once a source of potable water, became the central location for slave trading because of its proximity to slave and cotton warehouses along Commerce Street.

Court Square had been built out completely during the Antebellum Era, but it continued to evolve architecturally. Central Bank built in 1856, designed by Stephen Decatur Button (who had earlier built Knox Hall and the Capitol Building) was built along Court Square. This construction was praised and surrounding property owners were admonished for “not getting in line” with other beautiful buildings in the area.

In 1885, the Court Street Fountain was installed over the former basin and slave auction site. By 1887, two Lightning Rail street railway lines split around the fountain: one down South Court, one down Dexter Avenue. This area and nearby Commerce Street formed a full streetwall, with three- to four-story constructions. Montgomery Street at this time was not a through street to Commerce and ended on Lee Street, one block east of Montgomery. By 1912, Lightning Route rail lines had adjusted, with a new connection from South Court onto Dexter Avenue. Montgomery Street ran through to Commerce Street as indicated by street rail lines. The tallest buildings in downtown Montgomery were situated at Court Square, including the First Bank of Alabama, a twelve-story building at Court Square and Commerce.



Photograph of Cotton Sale in Court Square, 1870.



Stereograph image (c1875) of Cotton Sale in Court Square before the instillation of the fountain.

The buildings surrounding Court Square were renovated into modern architectural styles or razed completely throughout the twentieth century. A string of Italianate buildings between Commerce and South Court were replaced by a regional department store built using concrete, which still stands today. The nearby Winter Building had its ornamentation removed but remained on the National Register of Historic Places due to its role in the American Civil War. Even the fountain statues themselves were reimagined using aluminum in the 1980s.

Court Square became a focal point for the Civil Rights Movement during the mid-twentieth century. In 1955, Rosa Parks had refused to give up her bus seat across from the Court Square Fountain. The Market Street Park has a series of memorials to Rosa Parks and her involvement in the Civil Rights Movement.



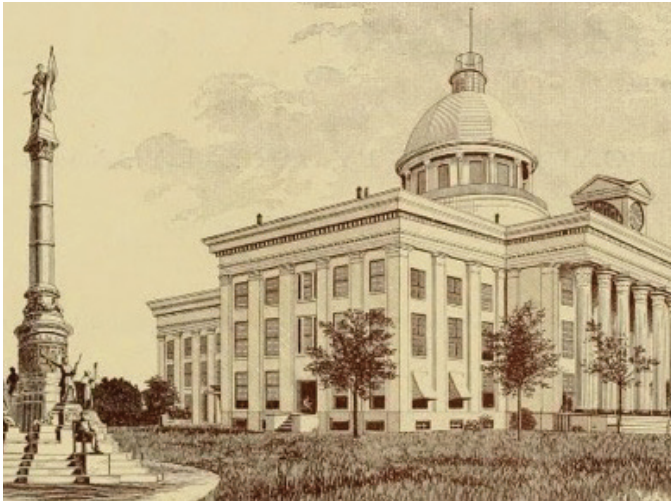
Market Park (on left) is a small green space with signage commemorating Rosa Parks and her involvement in the Montgomery Bus Boycott.



Court Square is now largely used as a roundabout for vehicular traffic with the fountain featured as the main attraction.

THE CAPITOL

After several changes in location, the first State Capitol Building in Montgomery was opened to the public on December 6, 1847. Only two years later, this early Capitol Building was destroyed by fire. Then, in 1851, the current Alabama State Capitol was completed; it is the state's fourth purpose-built Capitol Building. Over the following 140 years, several additions were made to the building.



Top Left: Drawing of Capitol building with Confederate Monument on Capitol grounds, c1875

Bottom Left: Close-up image of Capitol grounds from previously reference 1887 birds-eye drawing.

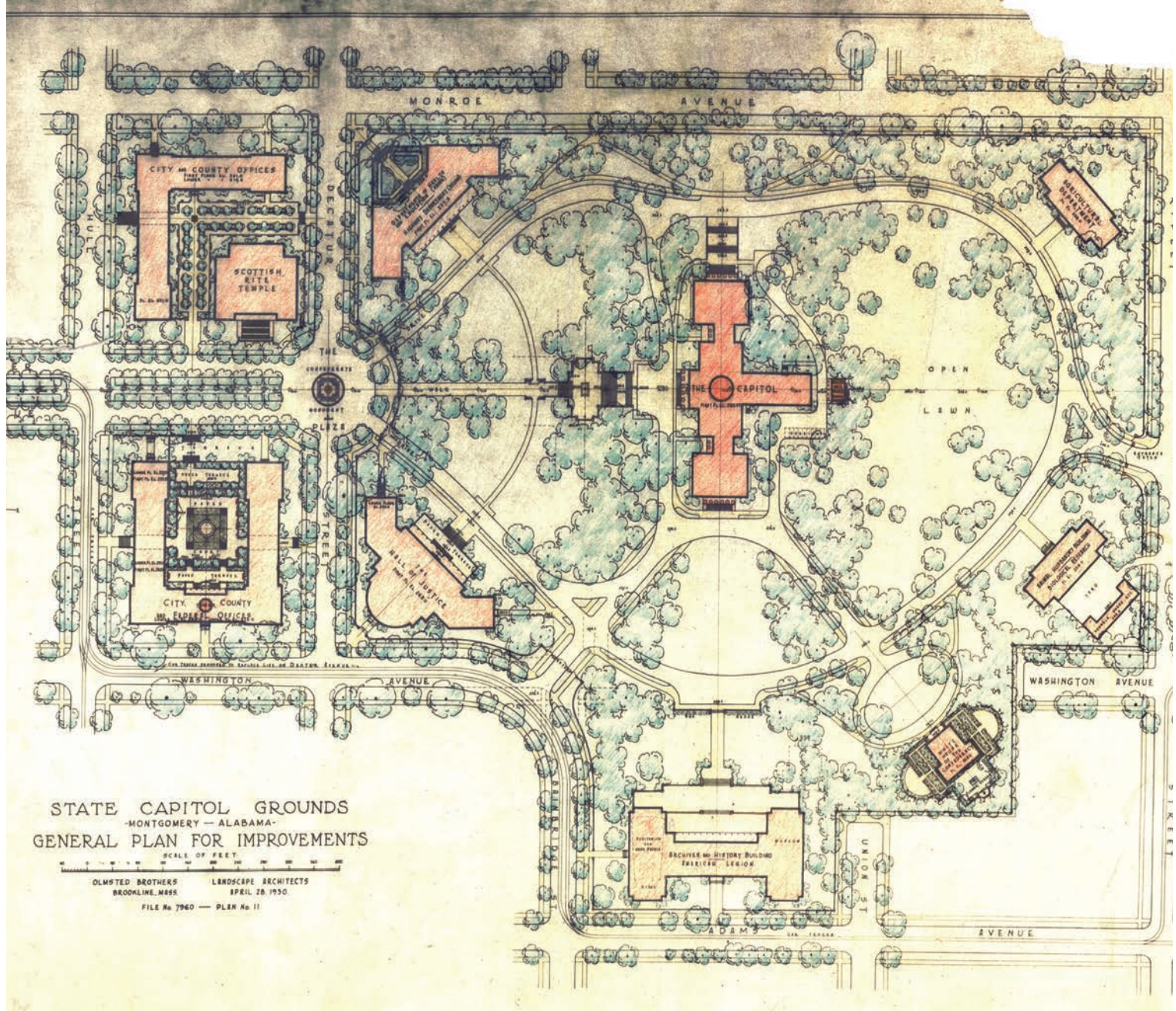
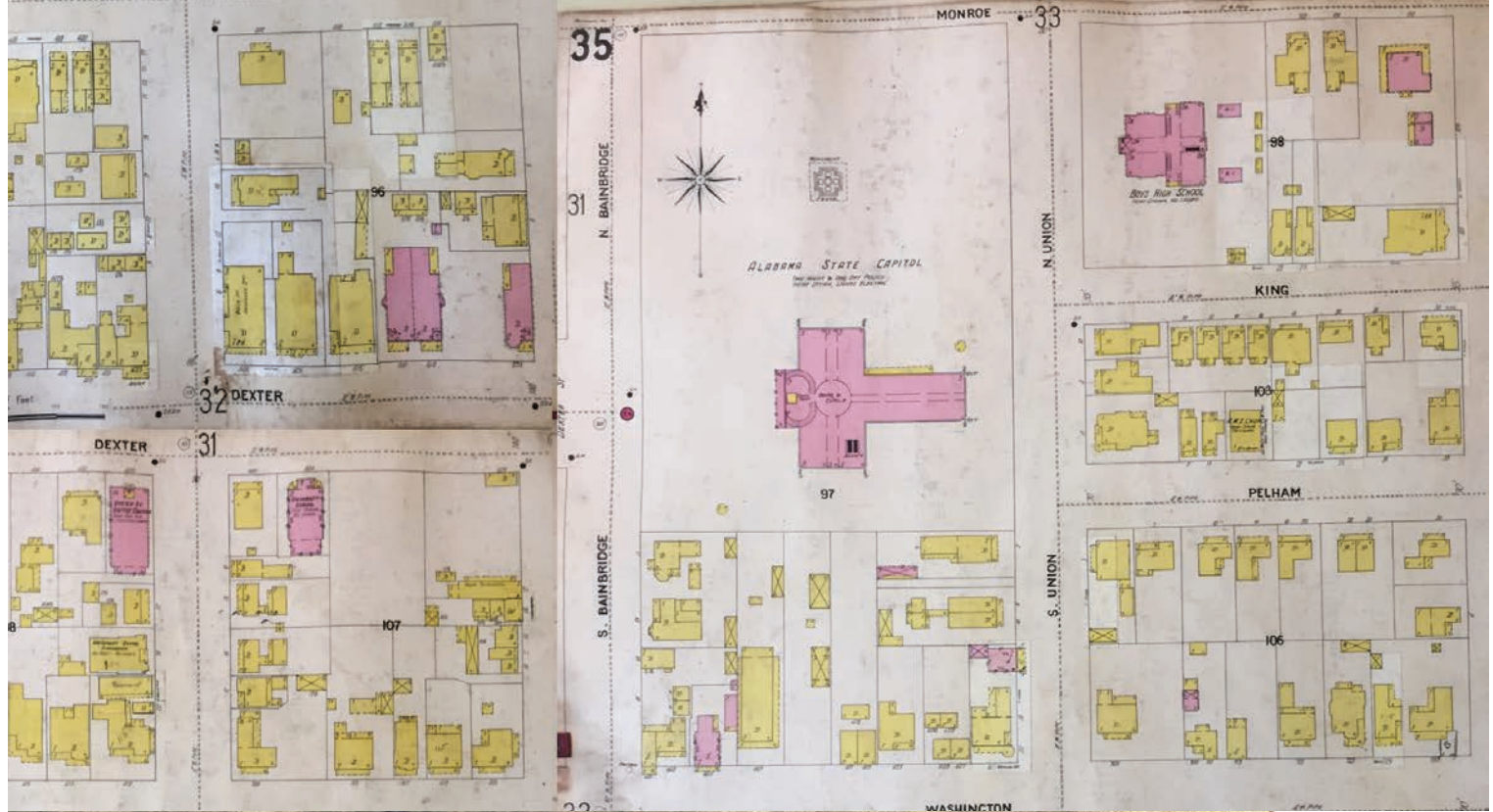
Right: Aerial view of Capitol grounds, c1920

Images on facing page: (Top) 1900 Sanborn map depicting expansion of the Capitol grounds; (Bottom) Olmsted Brothers unrealized plans for Capitol grounds, 1930.

By 1887, the Capitol Building was mainly surrounded by two- to three-story residential buildings on privately owned land. According to the Sanborn Maps of Montgomery, between 1900 and 1910, some of the privately owned residential buildings were replaced with governmental offices and public space. To the south of the Capitol, the Alabama State Department of History and Archives Building was built in 1901. In 1903, the State approved \$150,000 to purchase the privately owned southern portion of the Capitol ground, allowing the south wing of the Capitol Building to be erected. The north wing was completed when an additional \$100,000 was provided from the legislature. The State of Alabama Highway Building was erected on the lot west of the Capitol grounds, though its use was later changed.

Interestingly, the lot to the west of the Capitol grounds and north of Dexter Avenue was marked as state property in the 1911 Sanborn map, but it was still occupied by multiple small-scale mixed-use office buildings with two major programmed buildings: the State Agricultural Department Laboratory and the State Board of Health Laboratory. To the south of the Capitol grounds is the History and Archives Building and the Jefferson Davis Home Museum, which largely have not changed over time and are now called respectively: the Alabama Department of Archives and History and the First White House of the Confederacy.





According to the 1953 Sanborn Map, the area surrounding the Capitol was mostly governmental buildings. All privately owned buildings in the lot between King Street and Pelham Street towards the east of the Capitol Building were demolished to accommodate parking needs for the surrounding public offices. Similarly, the buildings between Pelham Street and Washington Street were removed to accommodate the State of Alabama Highway Department Building. To the west of the Capitol grounds, another office building was built for the Alabama Capitol Complex in the lot formed by North Decatur Street, North Bainbridge Street and Dexter Avenue. Back in the 1910s, though, this particular lot was the property of the state already, and it was mainly composed of relatively small-scale buildings and labs, which were all demolished by mid-century.

By comparing the 1953 Sanborn Map to today's map, it is apparent that the general boundaries of the Capitol grounds have largely remained the same, in part due to landscape planning initiatives dating to the late nineteenth century. In 1889, renowned landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted was invited to Montgomery by then Governor Seay to make recommendations on beautifying the Capitol grounds. He created an initial proposal, though it was neither developed nor implemented. Forty years later, in 1928, Governor Bibb Graves hired the Olmsted Brothers, Frederick Law Olmsted's sons, to develop a master plan for the Capitol area, the design of which loosely followed the recommendations from their father's initial proposal.

The Olmsted Brothers plan proposed to eradicate the grid system of streets immediately surrounding the Capitol and establish a ring road that encircled the Capitol building. In the report, *A Brief History of the Alabama Capitol Complex* by Mary Walton Upchurch, it states "The Olmsted plan is best remembered for its relocation of the Confederate Memorial to a plaza in front on the Capitol steps on Dexter Avenue" (Upchurch 1992). Similar to Washington's capitol plan, the plan for the Alabama State Capitol Complex created a formal axis cum view shed along Dexter Avenue, emphasized by the siting of major public buildings, an alley of trees along Dexter Avenue, and the relocation of the Confederate Memorial (Upchurch 1992).

The relocation of the Confederate Memorial and the creation of a ring road were never realized. Nevertheless, most of the public buildings were located in accordance with this plan, such as the Judicial Department, the Archives and History Building, the Public Safety Building, and so on. All of them were located in relation to the Capitol Building, so as to emphasize visual and spatial connections, illustrate the Capitol Complex synthetically, and deliver a dignified civic space (Upchurch 1992).

This civic space is nonetheless part of an evolving urban landscape that is increasingly defined by state institutions and interests, rather than by local communities and their needs. Since the early 1900s, the Alabama State Capitol area has reflected a recurring practice of demolishing residential and commercial buildings to accommodate an increasing number of state government-associated structures and properties. This expansion of the state's footprint in the city landscape has had profound effects, and the area is now largely characterized by occupied by out-of-scale state buildings and bleak parking lots for governmental offices and workers.

Left: Aerial image of Alabama State Capitol grounds today, 2019.



DEXTER AVENUE

Dexter Avenue is one of the most significant historic corridors in the United States. The telegram that started the Civil War was sent from Dexter Avenue. It is the birthplace of the first electric trolley in the US: the "Lightening Route." During the Civil Rights Movement, the last section of the Selma-to-Montgomery March was along Dexter Avenue to the steps of the Capitol, where Martin Luther King spoke.

At the east end of the avenue stands the Alabama State Capitol and the Supreme Court Buildings; at the west end is the center of the city: Court Square. Until the mid-nineteenth century, Dexter Avenue was Montgomery's hub of social, commercial, and political life. In the early 1900s, per Sanborn Maps and historic photos, Dexter was a bustling commercial corridor including drug stores, a dance studio, laundry, printing shop, concert hall, and supply stores, along with a few early indications of auto service and parking garages. In the 1953 Sanborn maps, there is a clear expansion of auto service and parking along Dexter Avenue, in particular at the east end of the avenue where it merges into the Capitol grounds, as well as the a

Below: Photograph of Dexter Avenue taken from Court Square, 1906.



distinct increase in state-owned property. Retail shops and other commercial enterprises still characterized most of the western end of the avenue. Moreover, for a period in the mid-twentieth century, sidewalk covers—creating a long arcade—were erected along Dexter Avenue by individual shop owners, so as to protect pedestrians and shoppers from the summer heat and rain.

By the 1970s, however, due to suburbanization and "white flight," the downtown area lost much of its residential population and commercial vitality. In the 1980s, the area was listed on the National Register of Historic Places as the Court Square-Dexter Avenue



Above: Dexter Avenue Revitalization Program, 1985.

Historic District. In an effort to capitalize on the cultural significance and historic architecture of the corridor, the City of Montgomery commissioned Holmes and Holmes Architects, to prepare a study entitled the Dexter Avenue Commercial Revitalization Program in 1985. The study included rigorous research on the history, original design, and current conditions of the buildings along and adjacent to Dexter Avenue. It proposed a revitalization scheme that offered incentives to qualifying property owners for restoring historic facades, and sought to inject new street life and promote economic development. Despite these laudable efforts, the program was not implemented and many of the structures along and near Dexter Avenue were demolished or stood vacant for decades. Vacant lots occupy some of the lots to the west of the Dexter. A huge garage covers an entire block where there used to be theaters and retail, and large-scale RSA properties dominate the view shed.

Some attempts at preservation have also been controversial. For example, the historic State Judicial Building, built in 1926, sits on Dexter Avenue near the Capitol grounds. The court outgrew the building, which fell out of use after a new and much larger judicial building opened across the street in the 1990s. RSA acquired the property in the mid-2000s, adding it to their office building portfolio. From 2008-2012, the State Judicial Building was effectively swallowed by new construction to become the centerpiece of the RSA's most recent office complex and data center.

According to RSA's website, the "Dexter Avenue Building is the latest in the state capitols [sic] finest office facilities...The showcase of the project is the fully restored Alabama Judicial Building which is embraced by the 50 foot high structural glazed grand vestibule." The construction and glass companies involved with the project also portray project as a preservation effort. In a blog post by W&W Glass, LLC titled "Honoring the Past While Looking Towards the Future," the company states that the "renovated high-rise addition was built around the former Alabama Judicial Building to preserve much of the historic structure" (W&W Glass n.d.). The company designed and built the "big window" into the courthouse, best seen at night.

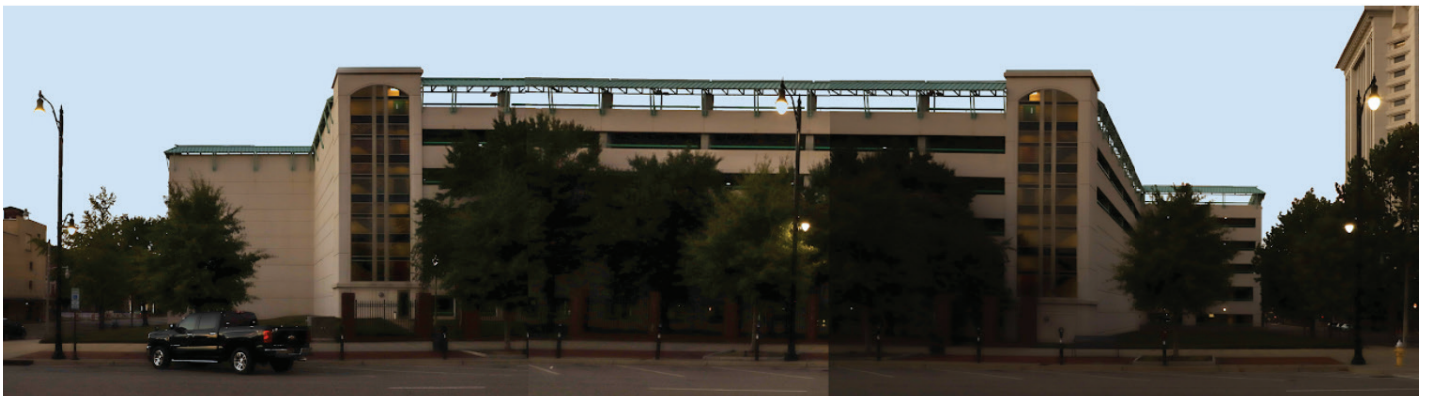
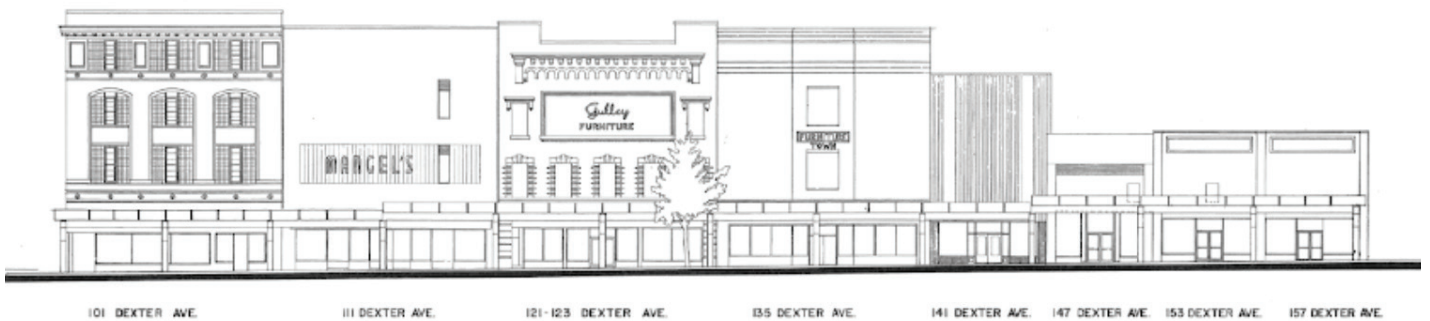
Whether this approach preserves the heritage values ascribed to Dexter Avenue's historic architecture



Above: Excavated site on Dexter Avenue after long-standing vacant storefront was torn down.

Below: Typical image of previously vibrant commercial street along Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, October 2018.





Top drawings document storefronts along Dexter Ave. as they appeared in 1985 during the creation of the Downtown Montgomery Revitalization Plan.

Bottom photographs document the same portions of Dexter Ave. as it appears today.



The historic Judicial Building was surrounded by new construction as part of an RSA redevelopment project.
Top: historic image of old State Judicial Building, c1940
Below: View from street today.

remains debatable, but there are nonetheless recent preservation successes along the corridor. In 2010, the city decided to buy most of the underutilized buildings along Dexter with a state fund, with an eye toward selling them at a discount to developers with proposals to renovate the buildings (The Associated Press 2015). This resulted in redevelopment of the Kress Building, which has emerged as a prominent and pioneering adaptive reuse project on Dexter Avenue.

The Kress Building is located at the lot formed by Monroe Street, North Perry Street, and Dexter Avenue, which is at the west end of Dexter Avenue and near Court Square. The history of this building dates back to 1898. When first opened, it was a three-story building named the S. H. Kress & Co. department store selling clothes, stationary items, and food. In 1927, the original building was destroyed by a fire. The current building was designed by local architect George E. Mackay, and was in use as a department store, part of the Kress chain from 1929 until 1981, when most of the stores were cleared out and demolished. It sat vacant for more than three decades (Kress on Dexter 2018).

The Kress redevelopment project was launched in 2014 by Montgomery Builds, a real estate development company that Sarah Beatty Buller co-founded with her husband. During this period, One Court Square, also purchased by the Bullers, played a crucial role of incubator for the Kress Building's potential tenants (Walser 2018). Those locally-owned business tenants later relocated to Kress Building after renovation. Two new floors were added to the original building, and many character-defining features were preserved, including the original terra cotta façade, the columns, and the terrazzo tile floors, as well as some of the original beams and ceilings. During construction, the Bullers came across two cracked marble slabs with the engraved words, "white" and "colored," which originally marked the store's water fountains. After discussion with the community, they decided to preserve and interpret these important vestiges of the building's past. They along with the building's entrances—a "white" entry faced Dexter Avenue and the "colored" entry faced Monroe Street—were important representations of the Jim Crow era of segregation.

In 2017, the historic building reopened again as the mixed-use "Kress on Dexter." It is the home to a popular local coffee house called Prevail Union Montgomery, the headquarters of Michelle Browder's I Am More Than Tours, a barber shop called Chop Shop, private offices, co-working spaces, and 26 apartment units with open layouts also can be found in the building's upper floors. Kress on Dexter also includes an exhibition space, and a "Living History" recording booth is located on the ground floor, collecting stories from the people of Montgomery (Dashboard 2018).

"We wanted this building to be a new expression of Montgomery today, creatively through art and through business," said by Sarah Beatty Buller (Walser 2018). Kress on Dexter has helped to blaze the trail for other adaptive reuse projects on Dexter, including a pocket park next door that recreates the façade of the Montgomery Fair, where Rosa Parks worked.

Top: Pocket park developed between Kress building and neighbor as part of redevelopment.

Below: Example of new storefront in Kress Building.

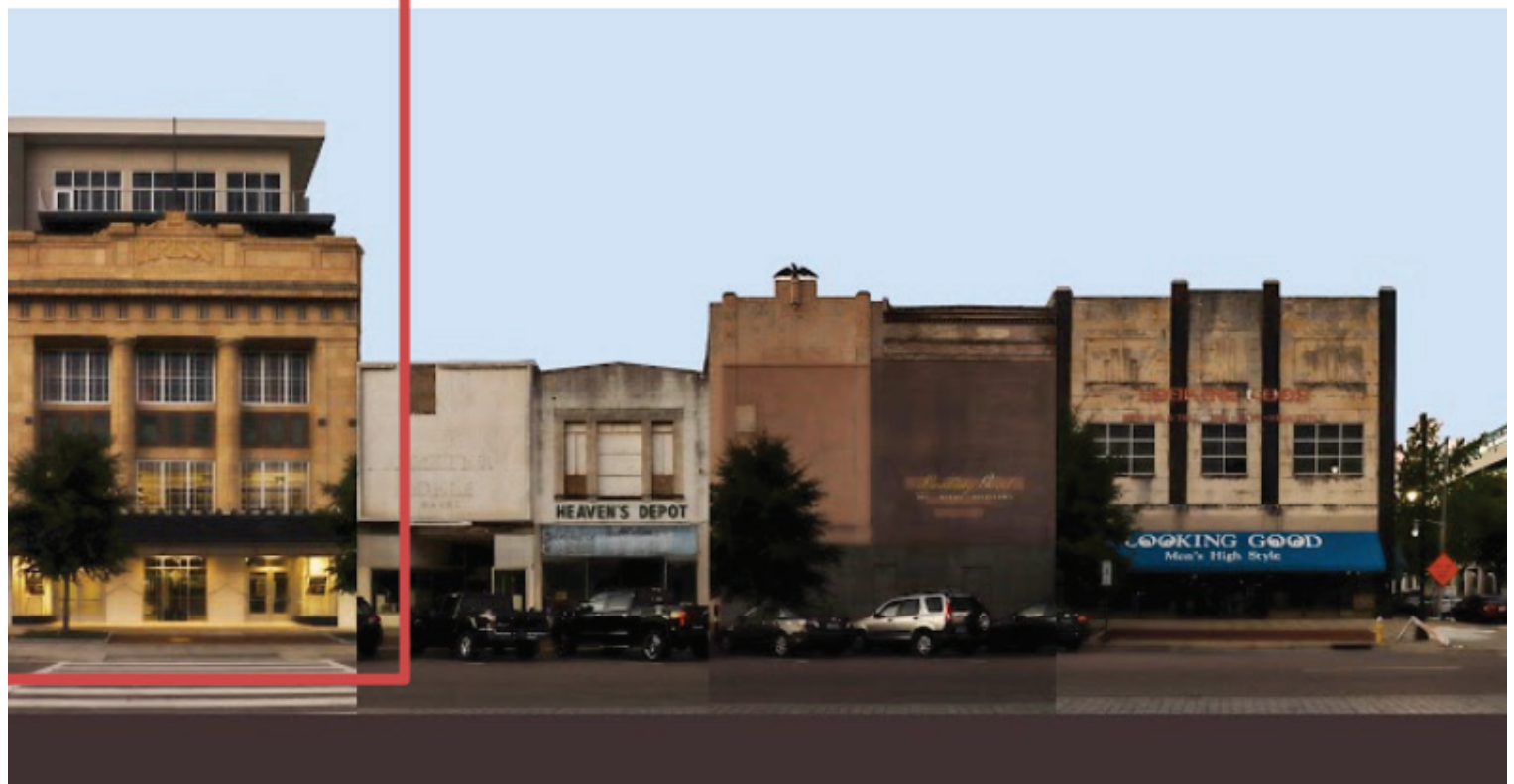




View of Kress Building down Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, October 2018.



Example of relatively intact block of Dexter Ave, including highlighted Kress Building. Top drawing documents storefronts along Dexter Ave. as they appeared in 1985 during the creation of the Downtown Montgomery Revitalization Plan. Bottom photograph documents the same portion of Dexter Ave. as it appears today.



PERRY STREET

Perry Street was originally part of New Philadelphia before the town joined with East Alabama to become Montgomery. The diagonal grid of East Alabama begins one block to the west at Court Street. Although Perry Street has always run the entire north-south length of the city, the central section is the most formally dense and was also the first portion to be platted. This central section is roughly bound by Jefferson to the north and Scott to the south.

The blocks were built outward to the north and south as time went on. By 1852, lots extend up to Pollard, which is the northern terminus of Perry Street today, and southward to South Street. In its current configuration, South Street abuts Interstate 85.

By 1887, Perry Street had already developed its unique north to south character, which is still evident today. The northern section above Columbus is largely industrial -- there was even a cotton warehouse at Perry and Jefferson. Perry Street ran straight into a rail yard north of Pollard Street. The downtown section of Perry runs from about Madison to Adams, with mostly residential buildings to the south.

In 1912, railroads and industrial uses were still clustered at the northern terminus of Perry Street, and a streetcar ran along the street from the rail yards to Dexter Avenue. The northern section of Perry Street north of Madison Avenue is still largely dominated by industrial uses and warehouses.

Interstate 85 sliced through Perry Street from South Street to Arba Street in 1956, and this southern section of the street is very isolated. In addition to the loss of linear integrity, a number of significant buildings have been demolished on Perry Street, most notably Old City Hall and the Old Montgomery Theatre. Both used to stand at Perry and Monroe Streets. The Governor's Mansion still stands and is on South Perry between Finley Ave and Cromwell Street.

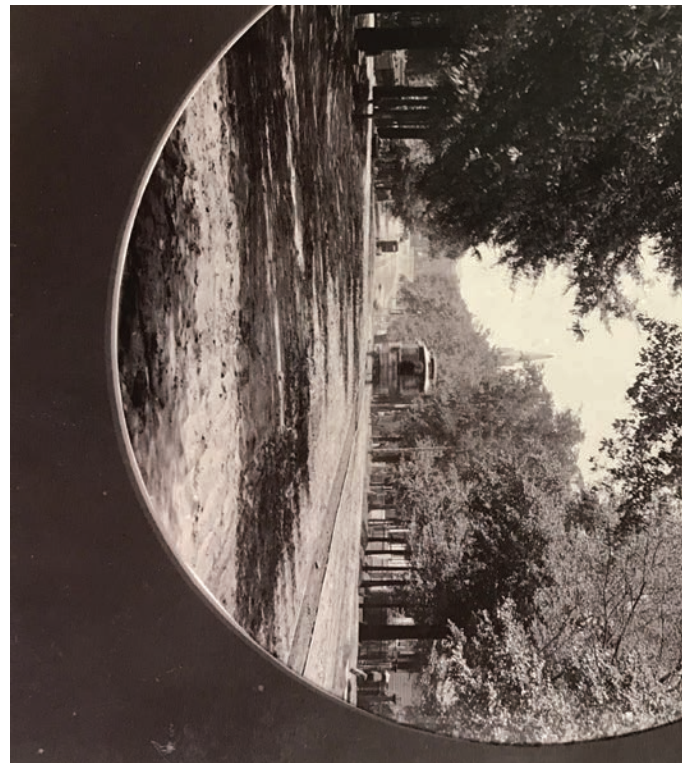
The 1985 revitalization study along and near Dexter Avenue provides an interesting look at how the street experience was and could have been. From Monroe to Dexter on the east side, the entire block has been

demolished for a six-level parking garage. The garage has entirely altered the scale of the street and the pedestrian experience.

Things are less bleak from Dexter to Washington Ave just one block south. The built fabric from 1985 remains except for one building and the remaining buildings appear to have retained much of their architectural character.

Looking at Perry Street and the two surrounding blocks from Court to Lawrence Streets, running from Pollard Street in the north to Julia Street in the south, the overall character of Perry Street is much the same as it was in its early days. Industrial buildings still dominate north of Monroe, the urban center is mostly intact from Jefferson to Scott, and residential buildings and smaller commercial enterprises dominate south of Scott. There is also an interesting transition in building material from masonry to wood as one moves from north south along Perry Street.

Due to its proximity to the downtown core and the Minor League Montgomery Biscuits Riverwalk Stadium, the City earmarked parcels for redevelopment along North Perry Street, bounded



1875 streetcar running along North Perry Street between Dexter Avenue and the rail yards.

by one-story warehouses and private charter bus facilities to the north, adaptive reuse projects and the historic structures of Old Alabama Town to the east, warehouse structures with varying rates of tenancy to the south, and the stadium to the west.

Montgomery's Department of Development (DOD) wants to convert these blocks to a mixed-use development in with an eye toward revitalizing and densifying the neighborhood. The process started with a survey that was distributed to a broad range of stakeholders including downtown property and business owners, property developers, city staff, and tourism officials to understand people's perceptions of North Perry Street. Subsequently, stakeholder meetings were set to gather ideas and identify opportunities, issues, and barriers to redeveloping the property. After that, a small group of developers and potential investors were convened to get feedback on design and market feasibility. Guidelines were then issued regarding the city's redevelopment requirements.

In October 2018, the Montgomery City Council voted to approve the sale of Parcel A for \$900,000 to allow the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) to expand its operations, potentially as additional museum space,

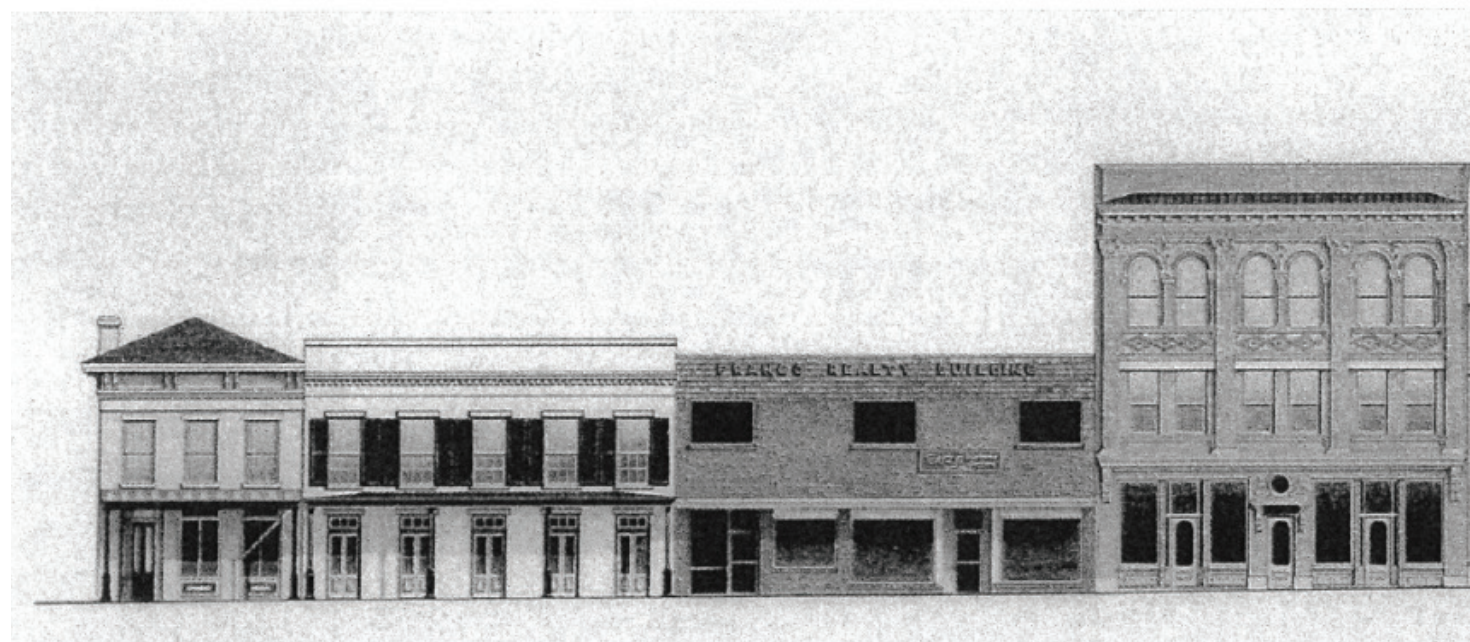
retail space, or for offices (Edwards 2018). In November 2018, Parcel B was sold to developer John Tampa for \$900,000. Tampa is a prominent developer of local hotels whose portfolio includes the DoubleTree Hotel and the Hampton Inn and Suites as well as the soon-to-open Springhill Suites in the former Bishop-Parker building and the recently announced boutique hotel in the historic Murphy House downtown (Yawn 2018). It is anticipated that these projects will spur additional mixed-use redevelopment and revitalization in this industrial area north of Jefferson Street.



Perry Street near the river depicting the unused industrial area.

This page and the following provide examples of significantly redeveloped blocks along Perry Street. Top drawings document storefronts as they appeared in 1985. Middle renderings depict the facade renovations proposed in the Downtown Montgomery Revitalization Plan.

Bottom photographs document the same portion of Perry Street as it appears today.





18-12 N. PERRY

101 DEXTER





38 S. PERRY

36 S. PERRY

32-30 S. PERRY

28-26 S. PERRY

24 S. PERRY

22 S. PERRY



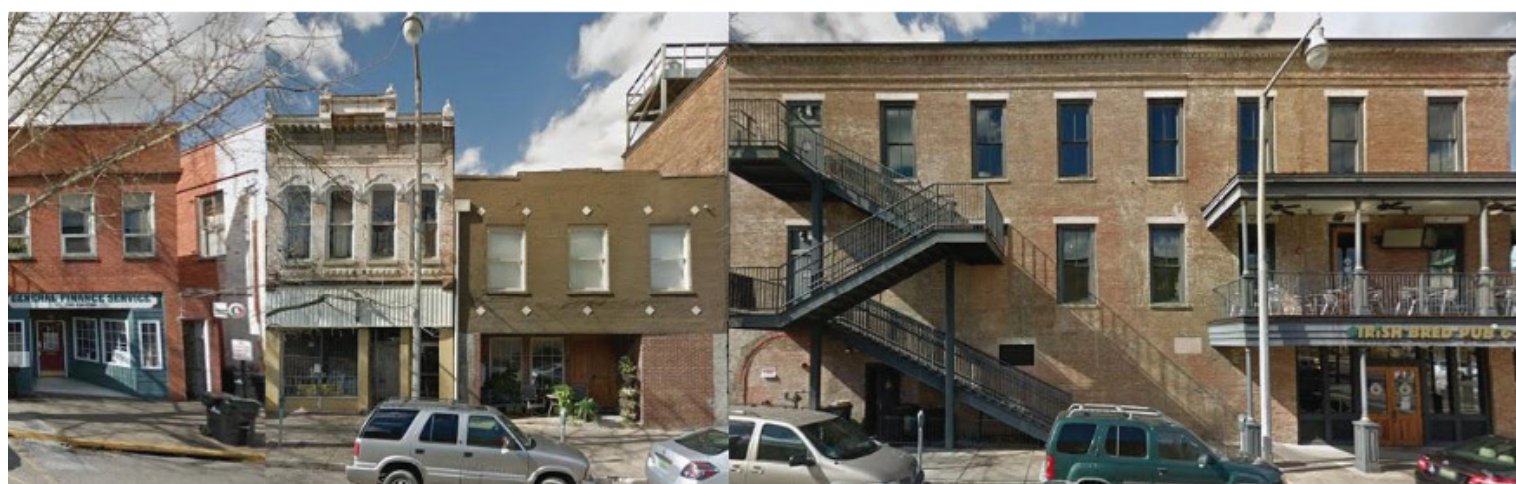


18-16 S. PERRY

14-12 S. PERRY

10 S. PERRY

78 DEXTI



FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

In 1866, the Black congregation of the First Baptist Church in Montgomery was established and Nathan Ashby was ordained as the first pastor. In 1867, the congregation's first building was erected on a vacant lot at the corner of Ripley Street and Columbus Street in Montgomery. In 1868, the Alabama Colored Baptist State Convention was founded in this church. Two years later, the National Baptist Convention was set up here.

The original building was a wood-frame structure facing Columbus Street, but it was destroyed by fire in the early 1900s. During early 1910s, it was reconstructed by bricks donated by its neighbors, which gave the church a nickname called "Brick-A-Day Church." The new church was built next to the original lot, facing North Ripley Street.

Sanborn maps for First Baptist Church (Top: 1900, Bottom: 1911)



During the Civil Rights Movement, the church played an essential role. Its leader, famous civil rights activist Ralph Abernathy, held a raft of meetings here during the Bus Boycott of 1955. In 1957, both the church and at Abernathy's residence were bombed in reaction to desegregation efforts; fortunately, there were no injuries.

On May 21, 1961, Freedom Riders arriving at Montgomery's Greyhound Bus Station were met with violent protestors and escaped to the First Baptist Church, which was then besieged by three thousand white rioters. Bricks and a dozen tear gas bombs were thrown through windows to threaten the Civil Rights activists. This siege ended after all night negotiations by William Orrick, assistant attorney general under Robert Kennedy, and the National Guard was sent to escort Freedom Riders and worshippers safely home (UPI Archives 1957).

The cultural and historic significance of the First Baptist Church and its immediate environs has, in many ways, been undercut by dramatic changes in its neighborhood context. In the 1950s, the Montgomery Housing Authority (MHA) constructed a 354-unit, low-income public housing project, George Washington Trenholm Court, to the north (MHA 2018). During the 1960s, the Montgomery Police Department headquarters and City Jail were established to the east of the First Baptist Church, and were expanded in the 1990s. The neighborhood thus became host to related services, such as bail bonds. These and other developments ruptured the historic physical and social fabric of the neighborhood, which served as an important backdrop to these important events.

While police facilities remain a dominant element in the neighborhood today, severe deterioration of the Trenholm Court housing complex forced its closure in 2011. A new affordable housing project, Phase II of the Columbus Square Community, is underway to create healthy neighborhoods of two- and three-bedroom apartments and townhomes and outdoor activity space (Harper 2017).



Above: First Baptist Church., 2018

Below: Current aerial of surroundings, showing a significant loss of built fabric from the early 1900s Sanborns of the neighborhood.



HOLT STREET

The development of the Interstate Highway System reshaped not only transit across America, but also the urban center of many individual cities. Montgomery's interstate alignments are the epitome of discriminatory highway planning. The construction of Interstates 65 and 85 divided neighborhoods and split apart communities of color. Today the interstates act as physical barriers, but they also destroyed residential dwellings, commercial businesses, and community facilities for black communities at the time of their construction. This destruction is especially evident in the area surrounding Holt Street.

Holt Street was once home to a vibrant and prosperous black community. Running south from the Alabama River through the neighborhoods of Cottage Hill and Five Points, Holt Street has played host to such important events as the Selma to Montgomery March and the founding of the Montgomery Improvement Association on the eve of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Today, Holt Street is a largely forgotten space, severed by the construction of Interstates 65 and 85 through some of Montgomery's most historic black communities.

The neighborhood surrounding Holt Street was one of the first upscale residential neighborhoods in the City of Montgomery (Krift 2018). Holt Street formed the backbone of a complete, self-contained, working-class black neighborhood—with banks, funeral homes, insurance businesses, grocery stores, an ice house, and a bakery. Loveless School, which housed Montgomery's first junior and senior high schools for black students, is just a few blocks over from Holt Street. Also nearby is the Cleveland Avenue YMCA, one of just a few places black children could swim before and after desegregation in Montgomery.

After the Federal Aid Highway Act passed in 1956, British magazine *Picture Post* referred to Montgomery as a “crisis centre” and referenced “spokesman of segregation” Sam Engelhardt, an Alabama senator and a leader of the segregationist White Citizens Council (Krift 2018). Engelhardt infamously gerrymandered the City of Tuskegee into a 28-sided figure in order to remove 99 percent of the black population. Engelhardt unsuccessfully ran for lieutenant governor in 1958, with the campaign slogan “segregation every day in

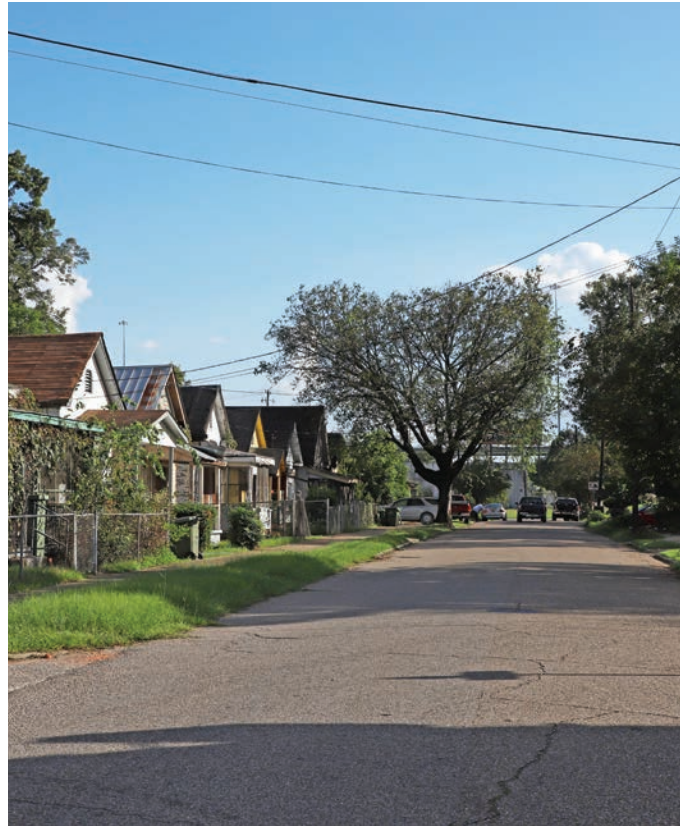
Aerial view of downtown Montgomery, AL and the highway divide.



every way". In 1959, Engelhardt was named director of the State Highway Department.

Under the leadership of Engelhardt, highway alignments displaced historically black neighborhoods in Montgomery. According to Alabama State University archivist Howard Robinson, seventy-five percent of the families impacted by the construction of Interstate 65 were black (Yawn 2018). The construction of Interstate 85—running along an alignment perpendicular to Holt Street—destroyed approximately 356 homes in Centennial Hill, Bel Air and The Bottoms, according to a 1960 Highway Department memo (Yawn 2018). All of these neighborhoods were predominantly black. 192 homes in the path of Interstate 85—more than half of the residences affected—were designated as "poor condition" and the state estimated an average payment of just \$3,300 per house (Yawn 2018). The 164 homes listed in "fair" to "good" condition were home to Montgomery's black middle class: doctors, lawyers, teachers, coaches (Yawn 2018).

Montgomery today is deeply divided by Interstates 85 and 65. This divide reflects the split identity of Montgomery as Cradle of the Confederacy and birthplace of the Civil Rights Movement—a phrase emblazoned on its seal and physically manifested by the highways (Yawn 2018). Recently, some community members have begun to see the highways as an opportunity to attract more business and vitality. Mt. Zion A.M.E. Zion Church—home to the founding of the Montgomery Improvement Association—and Holt Baptist Church, the location of the first mass meeting before the Montgomery Bus Boycott have both been the focus of restoration efforts. The Congregation moved to a new location in 2001 and is raising funds to convert the church into a museum and a memorial. Cedric Sanders not only keeps three lots along Holt Street clean-cut and litter-free, but also wants to open a pizza restaurant in the neighborhood (Johnson 2018). Sanders hopes "Can a Brotha Get a Slice" will be a gathering space for community members to come together as they attempt to re-envision the historic Holt Street neighborhood (Johnson 2018).



Top: Holt Street near the highway interchange. Relatively intact street of homes.

Bottom: Holt Street at the highway interchange where all homes were cleared to make way for the highways in the 1950s.



OAK PARK

Oak Park is a community space and landmark for the City of Montgomery with a dark history. Established in the late 1800s with a total of approximately 40 acres, the Park once housed a zoo and multiple pools (Trevino and Pastorello 2007). After Oak Park played host to a legal dispute in the 1950s—which led to the de jure desegregation of Montgomery’s public facilities—much of its original character was lost. Today Oak Park is a largely underutilized space, isolated from the surrounding neighborhoods.

For generations, Montgomerians have enjoyed Oak Park. The Park was created in the late 1800s during the early suburbanization of Montgomery. On December 21, 1886, the Capital City Street Railway Company purchased land from Col. Bolling Hall—a planter and statesman—and set aside property for Oak Park as they planned two electric streetcar lines in the area (Trevino and Pastorello 2007). In 1887, the Montgomery City Directory described the Park as a “place where the public may spend leisure hours in pleasant drives and recreation and will have a splendid

artesian lake and boats, a two and a half mile drive of tracks” (Trevino and Pastorello 2007). The Park came under the control of the City on May 9, 1899 when the Montgomery City Council purchased 45 acres of land from the Highland Park Improvement Company. At the close of the nineteenth century, the surrounding neighborhood was heavily wooded, with bridle paths for driveways rather than roads (Trevino and Pastorello 2007). Oak Park was an important part of local history since the founding era of the City of Montgomery.

The Park was a major attraction and social venue for the City of Montgomery during the twentieth century. In the 1930s, the Olmsted Brothers created an improvement plan for Oak Park, including a small zoo complex (Tintagil Club 1948). At its height in the 1940s, Oak Park had a pavilion open to the public for parties, dancing, and meetings, a swimming pool, a wading pool, playgrounds, tennis courts, barbecue pits, and an expanded zoo. With over 1,500 azaleas lining its paths and walkways, Oak Park was considered “one of the beauty spots of the Southland” (Tintagil Club 1948). Oak Park was a vital space for cultural and social



Historic photograph of Oak Park Pavilion.

life in Montgomery, though only for the enjoyment of whites until the latter part of the twentieth century.

Three years after the Supreme Court ruled to end segregation in public education in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Montgomery passed a city ordinance banning African Americans from all city parks and recreational facilities (Merriman 2015). After African American citizens petitioned for Montgomery's parks to integrate and filed a federal lawsuit to protest park segregation, Oak Park became the center of a Civil Rights dispute confronting the Jim Crow South. Two important court cases—both known as *Gilmore v. City of Montgomery* (1959 and 1974)—attempted to overcome formal segregation in Montgomery's public recreational facilities. The cases were named for lead plaintiff Georgia Theresa Gilmore—mother of Mark Gilmore, who was arrested while taking a shortcut home from work across Oak Park (Merriman 2015). After a series of attempts to void the arrest, the case turned into an attempt to challenge segregation in Montgomery writ large (Seay 2008).

Federal judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. ordered the City to integrate its recreational facilities in 1959, but the City opted to promptly close all facilities and fill its eight swimming pools with dirt (Merriman 2015). Oak Park's zoo animals were sold off or given to other zoos (Merriman 2015). According to an amendment to the Alabama State Constitution, the City of Montgomery could dispose of the Park property rather than integrate it (*The Montgomery Advertiser* 1958). An editorial published in 1958 argued, "certainly it must be obvious that before the races are mixed in Oak Park that the squirrels would be trapped and set free in Catoma swamp, the roses and azaleas would be ploughed up, the ancient oaks and pines would be cut and sold for timber" (*The Montgomery Advertiser* 1958). The historic character of Oak Park was largely lost in this attempt to resist integration.

The City reopened and integrated what remained of its parks in the 1970s. However, the City still allowed whites-only private schools to occasionally use the parks on an exclusive basis (Merriman 2015). This action resulted in the second *Gilmore v. City of Montgomery* case. In this case, the US Supreme Court found it legal to allow the segregated schools to use the parks so long as other groups were still also

allowed to use the facilities (Merriman 2015). This legacy of racial tensions remains an important but uninterpreted part of Oak Park's history.

Today Oak Park is composed of 40 acres. The current Park is home to gardens, a fish pond, playgrounds, walking trails, picnic shelters, W. A. Gayle Planetarium, the administrative offices of the Parks and Recreation Department, open space, and mature trees (City of Montgomery 2018). The Park is enclosed by fencing except for two vehicular entrances on the Park's eastern perimeter, and the northwestern portion of the Park lot is home to a City maintenance and storage facility. The census tract containing Oak Park has rapidly de-densified, losing 87percent of its population between 1960 and 2010. The current population in this area is 95 percent non-white and the median household income is just \$16,125 in 2016 inflation adjusted dollars (ACS 2016 5-Year Estimates). The contemporary fenced-in, isolated form of the park contributes to Montgomery's lack of easily accessible open space and symbolic separation of current communities from the history of this Jim-Crow-scarred landscape.



One of two current entrances to Oak Park.

CENTENNIAL HILL

Centennial Hill is an historic black community just southeast of Montgomery's downtown core. Located about a half-mile from City Hall and just a few blocks from the State Capitol Building, Centennial Hill was once home to vibrant entertainment venues and clubs that attracted performers and audiences from across the United States (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2008). Today the neighborhood is widely neglected, with many abandoned historic buildings and homes.

Centennial Hill was named for the centennial celebration of the United States in 1876 (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2008). Shortly after the end of the Civil War in 1865, newly freed blacks purchased property in the neighborhood and built homes, churches, businesses, and schools (Montgomery Area Chamber of Commerce Foundation 2013). As the population increased, the neighborhood developed into a strong, stable community with black-owned businesses and clubs (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2008).

According to a neighborhood plan adopted by City of Montgomery Planning Commission in 2008, the first church established in the neighborhood was the Congregational Church, constructed in 1872 by the American Missionary Association on the southwest corner of High and Union. Centennial Hill was also home to the first black church in Montgomery—the Church of the Good Shepherd at the corner Jackson of and Grove. This church was built in 1900 by St. John's Episcopal Church, located at Perry and Madison Streets (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2008). The neighborhood has been the site of many additional churches. Other important structures in the neighborhood include Swayne College and the Jackson Community House.

Over the years, many important leaders, businessmen, and talented performers have lived in Centennial Hill. Centennial Hill was a hub for black journalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Montgomery had three black-owned newspapers: the *Montgomery Advance* (1876-82), *Montgomery Herald* (1886-87), and the *Colored*

Alabamian (1907-16) (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2008). Noted builders such as Horace King (built bridges and crafted the magnificent winding staircase of the Capitol), William Drish (slave plasterer who did the ornate work on the Capitol in 1846 and Knox Hall), James Hale (carpenter who built the "Four Sisters Houses" on Perry, 1870) and H.A. Loveless (contractor and entrepreneur) also lived in the neighborhood (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2008). Perhaps the neighborhood's most famous resident, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. lived at 309 S. Jackson Street during his time in Montgomery. This same house was later the residence of another important activist, Vernon Johns (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2018). In addition to these Civil Rights leaders, Centennial Hill was also home for a number of musicians including: Rufus "Tee Tot" Payne, Hank Williams' mentor; Joe Morris, a major recorder on Atlantic Records; Calvin Scott and Clarence Ashe; Blues singer Clarence Carter; and singer-pianist Nat King Cole (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2008). The neighborhood's clubs attracted world-class entertainers such as Ray Charles, Big Mama Thornton, and Harry Belafonte (City of Montgomery Planning Commission 2018). Many of the historic homes in Centennial Hill are still occupied by the relatives of these notable citizens. While the neighborhood has suffered from neglect in recent decades, the space still maintains a strong sense of identity and heritage. Centennial Hill's historic resources have the potential to once again create a vibrant community.



The only remaining business from the Civil Rights era in Centennial Hill is the barbershop in the Ben Moore Hotel, 1959.



Ben Moore Hotel on Jackson Street in Centennial Hill.

MONTGOMERY AND HIGHWAYS

"In 1961, state highway officials recommended a route for Interstate-85 that traversed the city's major African American community. George W. Curry, a black minister and head of a Property Owners Committee, sent a petition with 1,150 signatures to local, state, and federal highway officials protesting that the expressway route would destroy an estimated 300 homes in black Montgomery and proposing an alternative route through mostly vacant land. At a public hearing, 650 people stood up to signify their opposition to the expressway. Curry argued that the route 'was racially motivated to uproot a neighborhood of Negro leaders'...

..Ralph Abernathy, a close advisor of Martin Luther King in the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956 and in other desegregation struggles, also complained about the Interstate-85 route in a telegram to President John F. Kennedy in October 1961. Abernathy's home stood in the path of the highway project, obviously targeted by Alabama highway officials. A notorious racist, Alabama's state highway director Samuel Englehardt served simultaneously as a high level officer of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan and of the White Citizen's Council, which organized against school integration. Black opposition to the designated Interstate-85 route did slow construction, but only temporarily."

—Raymond A. Mohl. 2002.

"The Interstates and the Cities: Highways, Housing, and the Freeway Revolt." Washington, DC: Poverty and Race Research Action Council.





Left: Selma to Montgomery march with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., 1965.

Right: Interstate-85 highway construction, 1964.

COTTAGE HILL

Cottage Hill is Montgomery's oldest local historic district. It is roughly bound by Goldthwaite, Bell, Holt, and Clayton. The residential blocks date back to 1839 when they were laid out by land speculator Edward Hanrick, also known as "Horseshoe Ned" (King and Pell 2010, 7). The district is one of the most intact Victorian-era neighborhoods in the city and is comprised of mainly one- and two- story residences from the late nineteenth century (Floyd and Mertins 1976). The neighborhood is both locally designated and listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

According to the 1976 NRHP nomination, 90 of 133 structures within the district were built prior to 1910, and are considered architecturally or historically significant. The majority of these structures are Folk Victorian, but the neighborhood also contains four notable, large-scale Victorian residences. About ten percent of the structures within the district are commercial and are concentrated along Goldthwaite and the northern half of the district (Floyd and Mertins 1976).

In addition to the large quantities of historic fabric within the boundaries, the district is important as representative of a downtown middle-class Victorian residential community in Montgomery. Despite being platted in 1839 by Hanrick, the neighborhood was still only sparsely populated by 1860. The majority of the present housing stock dates to between 1880 and 1910. A large number of homes in the southern half of the district were built by the Hugger Brothers Construction Company. The name "Cottage Hill" is derived from the first public school in the district, which opened in April of 1891.

Cottage Hill was graded "hazardous" along with large areas of downtown in the HOLC residential security maps of the 1930s. In the mid-twentieth century, during the wave of suburbanization, the neighborhood fell into disrepair as its residents moved to the suburbs. The neighborhood was threatened in the 1950s and 1960s, as it was slated to become an industrial warehouse complex in the last Montgomery master plan (Floyd and Mertins 1976). The Cottage Hill local



Images from National Register nomination for Cottage Hill Historic District, 1976.



Current images from the Cottage Hill Historic District.
Bottom property is the same as bottom left.

district was defined by Montgomery city ordinance in 1974.

In the 1970s, there was an overall positive expectation in the property market across the country. Cottage Hill revived with some individual purchases of properties following the trend (Case 1994). Subsequently, it was listed on the Alabama State Register of Landmarks and Heritage in 1975 and the National Register of Historic Places in 1976. Moreover, the Cottage Hill Foundation was founded during that time to protect the historic neighborhood from industrial rezoning and to promote preservation of the homes.

Starting in 1997, construction of a new arterial bypass around the southeast side of Prattville led to the relocation of US 82 east from an overlap with US 31 to Maxwell AFB and South Boulevard in Montgomery (US 82 2018). The interstate highway cut through Cottage Hill, breaking its continuity to the west. Citing pollution, noise, and dangerous traffic, as well as inhibited growth, most white homeowners relocated, and Cottage Hill fell into another period of deterioration.

In recent years, a new wave of residents have bought and restored houses in the neighborhood and call Cottage Hill home. The city has also bought a number of properties in the area, with the goal of introducing commercial developments. The neighborhood has also been the subject of an effort to create an arts and cultural district.





Crowd gathering during Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1954.

SPATIALIZING NARRATIVES AND PRESERVING HISTORY

Montgomery is a city that takes pride in a complex history spanning from colonial occupation of Native American land to becoming a burgeoning hub of the domestic slave trading, the first capital of the Confederacy, and the birthplace of the modern Civil Rights Movement.

Citizens and associations of Montgomery have memorialized these histories through conventional means—erecting monuments and signage, establishing interpretive centers, and preserving buildings with storied pasts—as well as more abstract displays like the footprints in the crosswalk outside Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church, evoking the culmination of the march from Selma to Montgomery. In each case, a curatorial choice was made about which aspects of history were most worth commemorating in the public sphere, with the rest forgotten or intentionally omitted. Reinforced by the public policy tools of planning and preservation, these choices have produced a built environment that conveys a message revealing as much about the current state of the city and what it may yet become as it does about the past.

But what, then, is the difference between history and memory? French academic Pierre Nora, in his paper “Les Lieux de Memoire,” interrogates that very relationship. He argues that they are two intertwined yet separate entities. Whereas history is an intellectual production, memory is the deliberate installation of remembrance. Sites of memory like monuments and historic buildings are what carry these histories across time. Histories can be subsumed or even erased by one another, so it is the act of memory and the development of sites of memory, whether it be through an archival collection, self-demand, or aggregation, that allows histories to persist.

This collection of memories cannot exist as a singular entity—the plurality of memory on one hand is what allows Montgomery to have such a rich cultural background. But on the other hand, it also causes tension between different sites of memory and the people that they serve. Srinivas regards urban memory as a “means of accessing how various strata of society and different communities construct a metropolitan world.” Nas holds the idea that urban commemorative symbols

have “polyvocal” nature which means “they often possess an official meaning bearing the intentions of the creator or creators in mind, but informal references may be attached to them, enforcing, neutralizing and even counteracting the original intention.”

At a city scale, we see memory work play out in Montgomery with the remnants of the Confederate South adjacent to monuments honoring leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. There is a contemporary push in the United States to tell the story of racial inequality through the spatialization of these histories. The Equal Justice Initiative, a national non-profit organization based in Montgomery, is uncovering histories by using their host city as a cultural arena. Derek Alderman of East Carolina University uses this concept of a cultural arena as an urban landscape where spatialization of memory takes place. The narratives that are displayed in the arena and in what media they exist will help residents understand ideological and community identities.

TOPONOMY

One form of specific memorialization that the studio encountered were eponymous streets and buildings. Reuben Rose-Redwood explains two case studies of name changes in New York City history and the ramifications of both. The first case focuses on the urban decay of the Upper West Side. In the late nineteenth century, the demography of these uptown neighborhoods skewed toward lower-income and almost exclusively immigrant families. Colloquially, it was known as “Shantytown” because of its perceived unsanitary conditions of living in close quarters. However, the area received a rebranding of sorts that removed numerical names such as 8th and 10th Avenue, for aspirational ones like Central Park West and Amsterdam Avenue. This heightened the perception of value which turned the neighborhood from a Shantytown into a premier residential neighborhood.

Most of the streets of Montgomery are named after prominent white men such as William W. Bibb, the first Governor of Alabama, and Jefferson Davis, the only president of the short-lived Confederate States of America. Only in the last 40 years have streets been renamed after Black Civil Rights leaders. For example,



Jeff Davis St. sign, named after first Confederate President, Jefferson Davis.

Goode Street between Jeff Davis and Fairview Avenues was renamed Edgar D Nixon Avenue, and Cleveland Avenue between Mildred Street and West Fleming Road was renamed Rosa L. Parks Avenue. Both of these renamings occurred after 1976, after a resurgence of Confederate memorialization in the 1960s (SPLC 2018). Contemporary debates on which figures to uplift and memorialize using space drive deeper public discussions on placemaking that the studio aims to address.

Understanding how perception plays into the relative value of an area, it is apparent how the naming of places after notable figures can cause that value to shift, may it be for the better or for worse. In the studio's research, it was found that when the name of a place is that of a notable figure, the deliberate act of naming it so is a spatialization of memory, and in some cases, of history. Professor of Geography Derek Alderman discusses the extent that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is memorialized in the public sphere and the acceptance and pushback from communities. Alderman argues that there is a palpable difference between a side street and a main thoroughfare being named after Dr. King

Jr. It can suggest an environment of acceptance and the visibility of the Civil Rights Movement in the surrounding neighborhood, but it can also be a point of contention within the community.

The effort to name streets, public spaces, and other infrastructural elements after critical historical figures legitimizes political agendas often in conflict with others. This guise of permanence often speaks to our desire to be visible, to be remembered for our values, and the zeitgeists with which we identify.

CHANGES IN CITY BRANDING

The narratives represented in Montgomery's landscape represent, in many ways, the histories and stories that city officials and organizations have chosen to showcase. City guides and marketing material provide a particular lens on how the city brands itself. Looking historically at these publications sheds light on how that branding has evolved. This analysis is based on the 1920 official guide, 1941 WPA guide, 1948 official guide, and 2018 visitors guide.

The prevailing narrative through all of the guides is celebration of the city's close relationship to the Confederacy. The 1948 guide even refers to the Confederate Monument as a symbol of patriotism. Contentious figures like Dr. Sims are celebrated up until the most recent visitors guide, likely because of the heated debate against such figures in today's society. The slavery narrative, although described with clear racial overtones, is addressed in part by the earlier guide books but becomes more and more superficial by 1948, when the slave markets that used to dot Dexter Avenue are not even mentioned. The publication of the 2017 Civil Heritage Trail guide has reintroduced this narrative into the city's branding, but is less prevalent in the 2018 visitors guide, which mostly focuses on nightlife and food. Since the city advertises itself as the Cradle of the Confederacy and Birthplace of the Civil Rights Movement, more work that brings these two themes together (like the Civil Heritage Trail) should be explored and publicized.

1920.

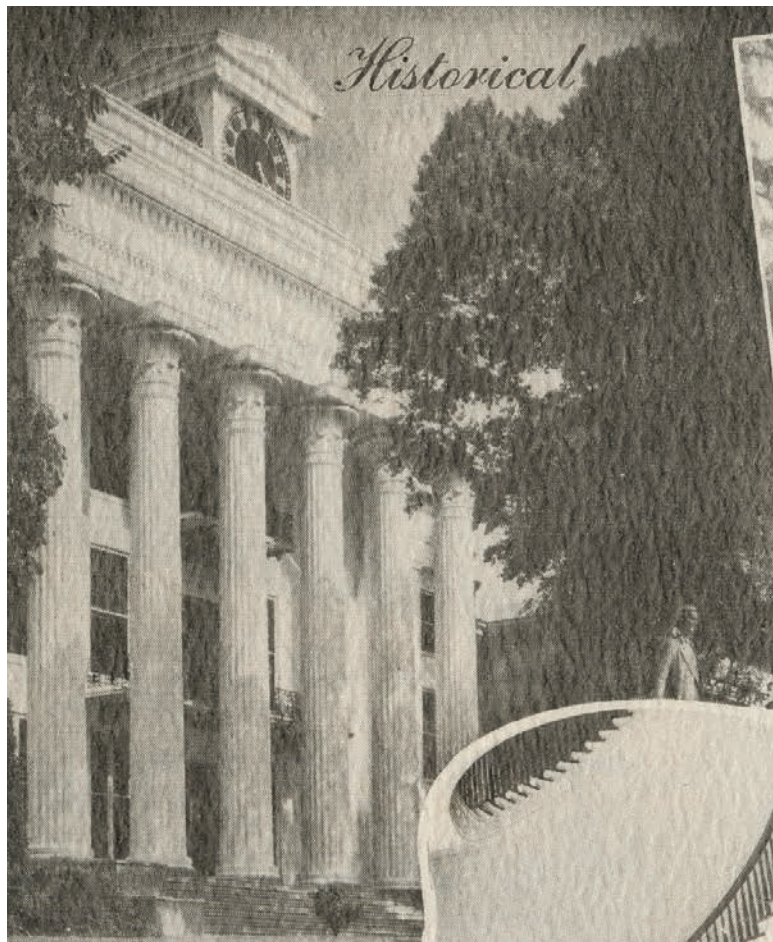
The Official Guide to The City of Montgomery, Alabama was released by the Tintagil Club in 1920. The club is significant both locally and nationally. As the Montgomery Advertiser noted on the occasion of its 100th anniversary in 1996, the Tintagil Club was organized for unmarried women interested in "intellectual stimulation" with the goals to stimulate intellectual growth and promote public welfare (The Montgomery Advertiser 1996). Eventually the unmarried qualification was dropped and the members have "given aid and support to practically every worthwhile charity in the city and supported legislation for the improvement of both education and welfare for the underprivileged." The charitable effort

behind the 1920 guidebook was to raise money for the Memorial Hospital in honor of Montgomery soldiers who died in World War I.

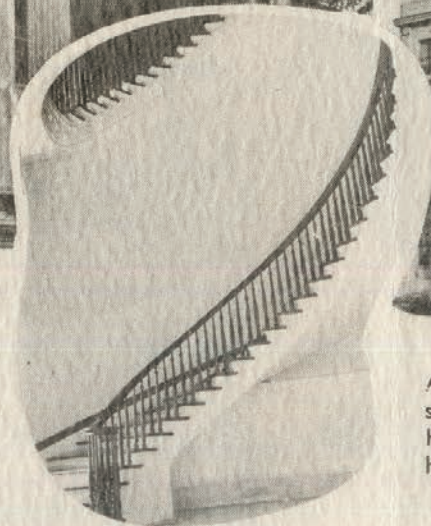
The book begins with a general history of Montgomery followed by sections on specific locations and groups/clubs of interest. These express the diverse history of Montgomery, for example, the Confederate Monument, First White House of the Confederacy, and the Winter Building commemorate the Confederacy; the Alabama River, First Electric Street Car, and Aviation Repair Depot look at the city's transportation history; clubs, churches, and schools are discussed as well as a few private homes.

Interestingly, there is a section titled, "Slave Markets," which discusses four slave markets along Dexter Avenue and characterizes the auction of enslaved people as follows:

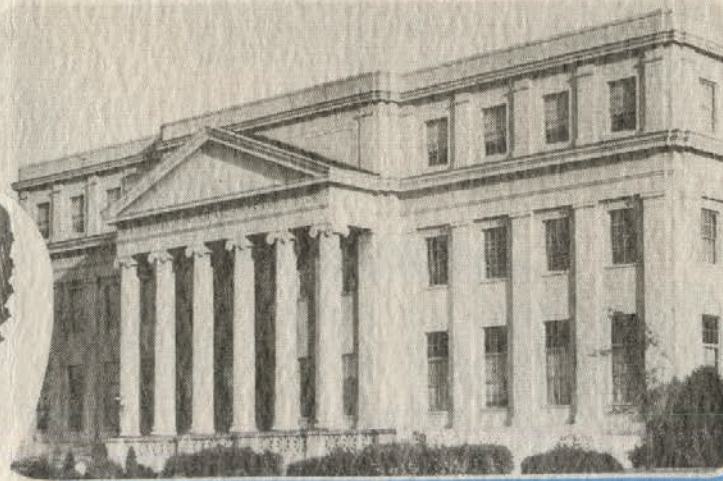
"For several days before a sale the negroes were on exhibit and it was the custom of the negro men dressed in bright red coats adorned with brass buttons to march down Dexter Avenue (then Market Street) and to mount a wooden platform on Court Square where they spent the day picking banjos, singing, and dozing in the sunshine" (The Tintagil Club 1920, 27).



Alabama's Capitol, birthplace of the Confederacy, is rich in Southern history and beautiful in its design. The winding stairway at right is unique in its construction.



White House of the Confederacy . . . Where Jefferson Davis lived during his hour of greatest triumph.



Archives and History Building . . . Alabama, first state to establish a Department of Archives and History, here houses its symbols of tradition and history.

*Why not come
live with us
in MONTGOMERY*


A friendly city of 110,000 people, alive to the needs of a progressive community. Montgomery's good schools, churches, civic pride, efficient government and cordiality truly exemplifies a "good place in which to live and earn a living."

Opportunity awaits you in business, industry and agriculture. Complete information and maps at Chamber of Commerce, Second Floor, City Hall.

*Write
MONTGOMERY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
for DETAILS*

Tarry a While
in HISTORIC and BEAUTIFUL
MONTGOMERY
Alabama

One Of The Nation's
Most Interesting
Cities



Advertisement and marketing brochure published by Montgomery Chamber of Commerce in 1950, boasting "business, industry, and agriculture." Highlighted buildings and places of interests focus on First White House of the Confederacy, claiming "Alabama's Capital, birthplace of the Confederacy."

Although slavery was acknowledged as part of the recent past and character of the city, the horrors and impacts of the institution were sanitized and substantially minimized. The writers make a point of claiming that families were hardly ever separated since it was “neither humane nor expedient” (The Tintagil Club 1920, 28), discounting historical records and the suffering such separations caused. Similar language is used in the characterization of slave burials in the cemeteries section, specifically about Oakwood:

“There is one corner of the old cemetery dedicated originally to the faithful slaves of the pioneer citizens of Montgomery. Here lie buried faithful mammies, butlers, and coachmen of many of the most prominent old families. In many of the private family plots one comes across the graves of loyal slaves” (The Tintagil Club 1920, 59).

1941.

Two decades later, guidebook branding of the city shifts from a more pronounced community orientation to one that more directly addresses the logistical needs and interests of a visitor to the city. The 1941 WPA guide, *Alabama: A Guide to the Deep South*, begins its discussion of Montgomery by outlining tourism information like railroad stations, bus stations and routes, airports, taxis, and traffic regulations. A 10-minute to 2-hour parking limit is mentioned for downtown. The guide then launches into a physical description of the city meant to portray it as idyllic, but coupled with very poignant racial overtones:

“Its atmosphere of measured dignity tempered by cordiality is matched nowhere else in Alabama. A Negro boy—his face wreathed in smiles—usually accosts the traveler with, ‘You don’t have to tote that grip, boss man; I’ll do it cheap;’ and a resident will willingly give directions and

accompany the stranger a block or more to set him on the right road”
(WPA 1941, 221)

Following this, there are brief descriptions of the business district with a noticeably incomplete narrative of Court Square, boundary descriptions of the “Negro” sections of town, and the mention of Cloverdale as the most prosperous suburb. Throughout the narrative, the writers attempt to weave the black population into the larger narrative but, again, with poignant racial overtones. For example, a typical scene at the Capitol includes a black trustee of a nearby prison “doing a bit of random sweeping about the feet of a white friend in the hope of getting a smile of greeting” (WPA 1941, 222).

The 1941 book paints a vivid picture of Montgomery as the heart of the Confederacy, even after the capital was moved. “Nowhere in the South was the hostility to Northern abolitionists felt more keenly than in this capital of agrarian Alabama” (WPA 1941, 224). Court Square is listed as the first point of interest and is described as the main slave block. This narrative is accompanied by text about the first county courthouse and the famous fountain.

Curious facts are left out of some of the descriptions of the other points of interest. The cantilevered staircases in the Capitol are briefly called out, but with no mention of their designer and creator. Dr. Sims’ office is listed as a point of interest and his acclaim is attributed to his treatments of clubfoot, lockjaw, and abdominal fistula. His experiments on enslaved women are not mentioned (WPA 1941, 228, 231).

Of the 31 sites of interest listed by the Tintagil Club, nine are related to the Confederacy, six are related to or mention the black population or slavery, one mentions Native Americans, and the rest are listed as buildings of architectural significance. There are three direct instances where slavery is mentioned in the points of interest. The Pickett House is described as being built by slave labor in the late 1830s, slave quarters are mentioned at Teague House, and slave sales are mentioned under the Old Post Office Building, which used to be the Montgomery Hall (WPA 1941, 231-232, 234).

1948.

The second Official Guide to the City of Montgomery, Alabama was another book released by the Tintagil Club in 1948. Interestingly, the proceeds from this sale went to the restoration of the Court Square Fountain, built in 1885. The book was published with three expressed goals:

1. *To acquaint strangers with the town and to make it possible for the passing tourist to see the best of Montgomery in a limited time*
2. *To tell the home seeker why it is one of the best towns in the United States for pleasant and prosperous living*
3. *To make every Montgomerian a competent and enthusiastic guide to the city of Montgomery*
(*The Tintagil Club 1948, 5*)

The foreword also states the intention to portray an accurate picture of the history of the city. Much of the text is an edited version of the 1920 guide book. Some of the sites mentioned in the section “Buildings on Capitol Hill” would not be considered controversial, like the Alabama Department of Archives and History and the Department of Justice Building. However, other sites like the Confederate Monument, White House of the Confederacy, Dr. J. Marion Sims and the First Hospital for Women, and even items listed in the Historic Markers section speak to a certain narrative slant similar to past guidebooks.

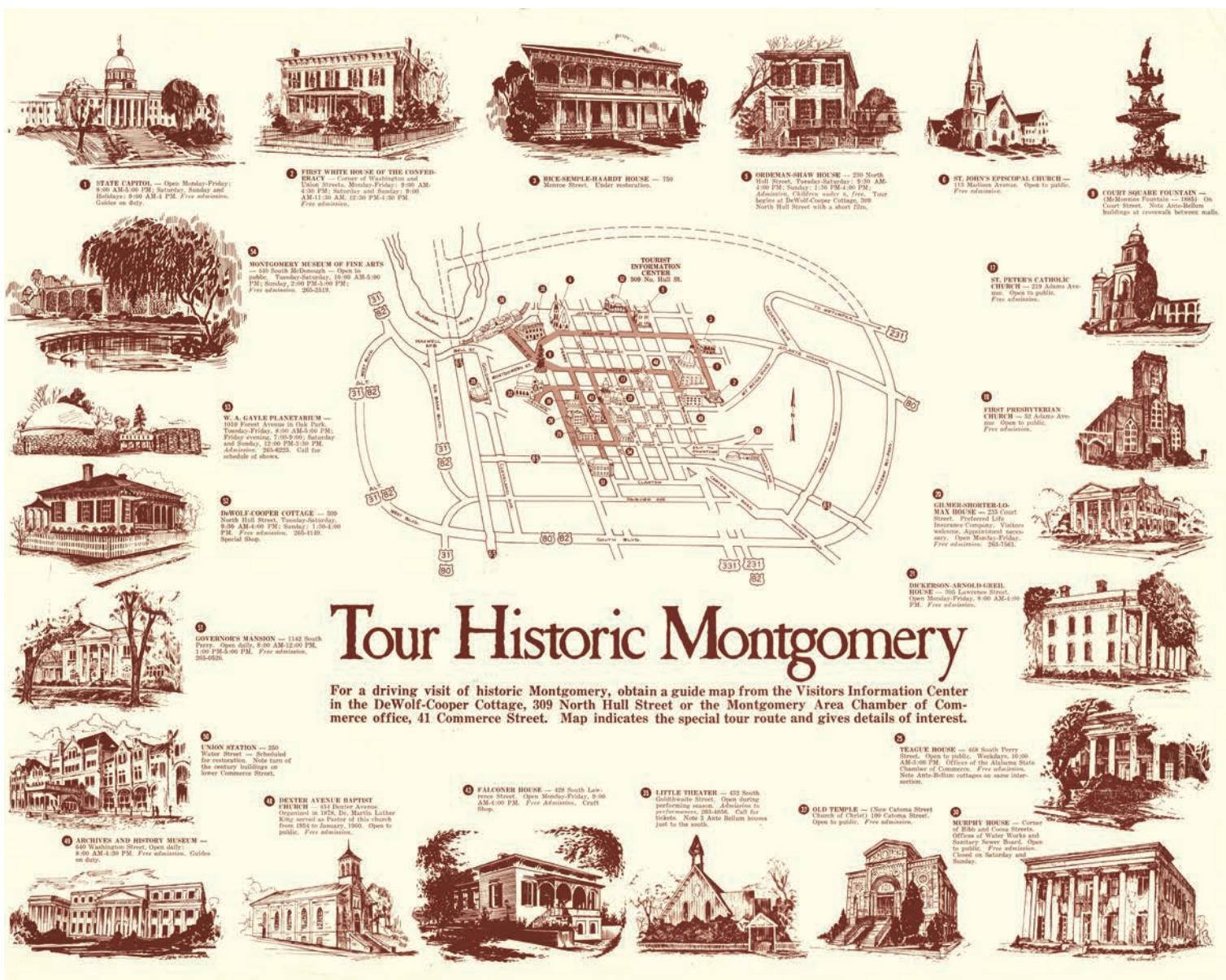
The text praising the famous cantilevered, twin staircases inside the Capitol does not mention the builder and designer Horace King, a former slave, but gives the credit to the Capitol’s designer, Stephen D. Button. A bronze star marks the spot where Jefferson Davis took his oath of office as President of the Confederate States. The guide also refers to the Confederate Monument as a symbol of patriotism and reveals that the State of Alabama paid for the completion of the monument when private funds were insufficient (*The Tintagil Club 1948, 27-29*). The preservation of the First White House of the Confederacy is referred to as “patriotic work” and for a time, the house rested on the grounds of the Capitol (*The Tintagil Club 1948, 39*).

In consideration of today’s heated debates over Confederate monuments and monuments celebrating contentious figures, the language surrounding Dr. Sims is particularly eye opening. Dr. Sims’ series of experimental operations on enslaved women between 1845 and 1849 are well known, and his abuse of a vulnerable and powerless population was so controversial that a statue of him in New York City was recently removed. In 1948, this was framed in a different light, noting that “their conditions were so dreadful that they willingly submitted to the operations and experiments and cooperated with him in every way” and that he restored three women to “complete health” (*The Tintagil Club 1948, 43*). The women are referred to as servants and young slave girls, and the text ignores the fact that as enslaved women they were likely never given a choice.

There are 23 historic markers listed in the 1948 guidebook. Eleven of them (nearly 50 percent) expressly commemorate a person, place, or event associated with the Confederacy. Court Square is described as being an artesian well used by the Native Americans and as a public water source in the early days of the city. The 1920 merry narrative of slaves waiting to be sold playing the banjo at Court Square is gone. Instead, there are details of the fountain’s construction and the city’s first streetcar, with no mention of the square as the center of Montgomery’s slave trade (*The Tintagil Club 1948, 43-45, 59-63*).

The 1948 guidebook indirectly and superficially addresses Montgomery’s slavery history twice. A set of remaining slave quarters is mentioned as being on private property at the Seibels-Bell-Lanier Home on Adams Avenue, and there is a short list of three tourable cotton plantations (*The Tintagil Club 1948, 119, 127*). There is no mention of the slave markets. Most of the physical evidence of these markets was likely gone, although Court Square obviously remained.

Although the guide book was written before the advent of the Civil Rights Movement, it was released more than 80 years after the end of the Civil War. The language and narrative choices are strongly geared towards a glorified Confederate past. Emphasis is placed on sites like the Jefferson Davis Star, the Confederate Monument, First White House of the Confederacy, and Court Square as simply an artesian



Brochure of tour map through historic downtown Montgomery, 1978.

well. Nearly half of the historic markers noted in the guide are tied to the Confederacy.

2018.

Montgomery has been known as the “Cradle of the Confederacy” since the 1860s, and the label has been on the city seal since 1952 when it was added by an all-white City Council. The seal was reworked in 2002 to reflect the city’s “dual history” as Cradle of the Confederacy and Birthplace of the Civil Rights Movement (Gettleman 2002). Since then, the city has struggled to represent its complex and often competing narratives. The 2018 visitors guide seems to suggest that the city has put this struggle on the back burner. One single-page spread “At the Center of it All” juxtaposes the narratives of Cradle of the Confederacy and Birthplace of the Civil Rights Movement. Elsewhere, kernels of the history of the Confederacy and the Civil Rights Movement are hidden within unrelated content.

Other takeaways of the 2018 visitors guide are the use of MGM instead of Montgomery and the general use of youth-oriented language. Examples of this are headings like: Totes Goats, Capitol Cool, Culinary Cool, Cool & Casual, What’s Cool this Weekend, and Play. There are also multiple pages devoted to promoting social media accounts. There is a general focus on food and nightlife. More than 30 pages of the 116-page guide are focused exclusively on food, nightlife, and breweries, as compared to only six pages focused on things that can be categorized as cultural and historic heritage. It seems like heritage deserves its own section in a city so rich and important to American history. Further, it seems inappropriate to put Civil War and Civil Rights heritage under the “Play” section.

The efforts by the Chamber of Commerce to appeal to a younger demographic are a direct result of a survey of visitor opinion, which revealed Montgomery is perceived as a “sleepy, historic southern city” (Stamp Idea Group 2018). The Montgomery Convention and Visitors Bureau has launched a marketing campaign with Stamp Idea Group to highlight the city’s recently revitalized downtown entertainment district and the expanding east side with new local shops and restaurants. The campaign wishes to appeal to visitors

seeking a “traditional, yet hip experience” (Stamp Idea Group 2018). The 2018 visitors guide is part of this initiative, along with “Capitol Cool” development and iconography, visitor maps, billboards, website design, blog development, and the “What’s Cool this Weekend” portal.

It is also important to mention that the Civil Heritage Trail, sponsored by Montgomery’s Downtown Business Association, does not have its own section or even its own map in the 2018 guide. Instead, it is labeled on the master map of sites and mentioned in a few captions. The map (page 12) is confusing because the Civil Heritage Trail markers are in blue and located along a blue line. Yet, the blue line is not the trail, it is a bike route. The Civil Heritage Trail is modeled after the Boston Freedom Trail and is meant to combine the narratives of the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement. Sites include Union Station, Riverfront Park and Harriott II, Court Square Fountain, Rosa Parks Library and Museum, Freedom Riders Museum, Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church, the State Capitol, the State Archives, First White House of the Confederacy, Civil Rights Memorial, Old Alabama Town, and St. John’s Episcopal Church.

Shifts over Time.

Visually, it is important to note that the Confederate flag adorns the title pages of both of the Tintagil Club guide books from 1920 and 1948. One of the most noticeable changes from the 1920 to 1948 guide books by the Tintagil Club is the addition of categories for many of the locations of interest into “negro” and white. In 1920, churches, clubs, and cemeteries were listed together with only schools separated. In 1948, churches, clubs, schools, community centers, theaters, and cemeteries were separated by color. The 1948 guide book also breaks the city’s population into white and black, while the 1920 guide book does not. This may be indicative of rising tensions in the Jim Crow era and growing anxiety about segregation.

The fact that the 1920 guide book raised money for a cause related to World War I and the 1948 book was for the preservation of Court Square says a lot about the dominant perspectives at the time. Both books were released as the end of a world war, and yet the Tintagil Club chose to donate proceeds from

the second book for the whitewashed site of a former slave market.

It is important to note that slavery was a part of the main narrative for the 1920 and 1941 guide books, but noticeably trimmed in the 1948 and 2018 guides. The text about Court Square in each book is indicative of this. If anything, the 2018 guide is even less clear on narratives than the earlier ones; although this is likely due to the City wanting to present a more equal general narrative. The Civil Heritage Trail is an important step towards the reconciliation of competing narratives in the city, but it has not directly come from the city and does not even have clear mention in the 2018 visitors guide. The trail was sponsored by a non-profit and also leaves out narratives of the indigenous Native Americans and Montgomery's Jewish population. No one guide book, museum, site, or trail can resolve all of these narrative issues, but pursuing more initiatives like the Civil Heritage Trail is a good first step.



New wayfinding and City Branding efforts began in 2018 in order to appeal to a younger demographic of visitors.

PRESERVATION GOVERNANCE

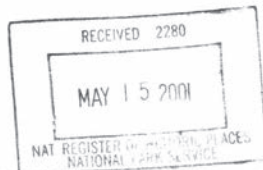
The City of Montgomery has a basic framework in place to facilitate the preservation of its historic resources. Historic buildings, sites and districts are designated on local, state, and national levels. The city provides for historic preservation by means of an ordinance that protects buildings and historic districts designated at a local level, and has a historic preservation commission tasked with overseeing an architectural review board. A long-established non-profit organization advocates for preservation and offers educational programming that reaches every fourth-grade student in the state. As the capital of Alabama, Montgomery is also home to the Alabama Historical Commission (AHC), the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), which carries out preservation programs throughout the state. However, despite having both private and public entities working to protect its historic resources, there are gaps in the stories being told through the lens of traditional historic preservation. National Register Historic Districts largely celebrate Antebellum era architecture and recognize a presumably white history. Other statements of significance omit critical facts that lend to a richer understanding of a site's history. The Court Square Historic District designation report cites that the square is the "psychological and physical center of downtown Montgomery, a distinction it has had since the founding of the city in 1819," and that "it served as a popular site for sales, auctions, and the exchange of news and gossip," but makes no mention of the enslaved who were sold there (Sullivan and Mertins 1981).

The Alabama State Capitol is one of five National Historic Landmarks (NHL) in the city, and among the first NHLs designated, dating to 1960. As such, it largely predates important Civil Rights Era events, such as the Selma to Montgomery March, which culminated at its steps. Its statement of significance is tied solely to its associations with the Confederate States of America, and to this day, the NHL listing is filed as "First Confederate Capitol."

Former Executive Director of the Alabama Historical Commission, Lee Warner was an advocate for Civil Rights history in the state, and suggested a change to the statement of significance to commemorate the Capitol as the terminus of the Selma to Montgomery March

in 2001. The Keeper of the National Register received more than 50 letters from Alabamians expressing opposition to the proposal National Archive Catalog. Warner was often opposed by Confederate activists, and his call for recognition of important Civil Rights sites ultimately led to his resignation (“Historical commission director resigns over civil rights projects” 2004).

5002 10th Court, E.
Tuscaloosa, AL 35405
May 10, 2001



Dear Ms Shull:

We bitterly resent any attempt to infringe on our Confederate memorial shrine, the Alabama State Capital and its grounds. It will be opposed vociferously by the great majority of the citizens of Alabama and its legislature.

It will immediately lead to bitter confrontations and turmoil on the capitol grounds. Our state does not wish to be victimized by any federal agency attempting to carry out a politically correct agenda.

Heritage groups in this state will adamantly, and without cease, oppose any designation of our capitol grounds as anything other than a Confederate shrine.

Sincerely,

Louise Crunk
Louise Crunk

Letter opposing dual designation of the Alabama State Capital as both the “Birthplace of the Confederacy,” and the Civil Rights Movement.

The Alabama Historical Commission.

The Alabama Historical Commission (AHC) serves as the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and manages a collection of historic house museums, forts, battlefields, archaeological sites around the state and the Alabama State Capitol. It maintains a state register of historic places that includes both buildings and sites, and administers a state tax credit program, as well as the federal tax credit program, and the federal Certified Local Government (CLG) program, of which Montgomery is not a part, although it is qualified to participate. According to Alabama Historical Commission National Register Coordinator Collier Neeley, the city has resisted participation in the CLG program—despite its potential as a funding stream for city-led historic preservation projects—because of a general fear of government overreach. The city is apprehensive about designating local districts, a reality with which its own preservation commission also struggles.

In 1984 the Commission established the Black Heritage Council (BHC), to advocate for and advise the agency on the preservation of African-American historic places in Alabama. At the time of its founding, the BHC was the first African-American advisory council of a state historic preservation office created in the country. Today, the 21-person volunteer board of the Black Heritage Council works with communities throughout the state to identify and protect significant buildings and sites. The BHC holds an annual preservation forum at various locations throughout the state and has been integral in advocating for African American heritage sites throughout the state (about BHC).

City of Montgomery.

The Montgomery Historic Preservation Commission (MHPC) and Architectural Review Board (ARB) of the City of Montgomery are housed within the Department of Planning, which also oversees zoning and the Board of Adjustment. Established by the city code, the Commission and the Review Board are each made up of nine members, with a representative from each of the nine corresponding city council districts. The ARB reviews and approves changes to the exterior of buildings and structures that are defined as historic or that are contained within a historic district, and may “recover any damages” caused by violating the ordinance to enforce its review decisions. The ARB weighs in on anywhere from six to twenty decisions per month, with warmer months being busier for design review.

According to representatives from the City Planning Department, there is general city resistance to pursuing CLG status because historic preservation is largely seen as an “impediment” to progress. When asked about state cooperation with the review authority of the City, they said that some state agencies go through the design review process as a courtesy, where others, such as the RSA are “untouchable” and in addition to not being required to follow city or state building codes, the RSA does not incorporate any city design review processes into their developments (City Planning Interview 2018).

Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery (and Old Alabama Town).

The Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery is a non-profit organization that has been integral to grassroots preservation in Montgomery and Central Alabama since its founding in 1967. The organization owns and operates Old Alabama Town, a six-block collection of historic buildings dating from the mid-to-late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Since 1967, the foundation has acquired and restored 50 properties, seventeen of which are part of Old Alabama Town tours, and the remainder of which it leases to local businesses as an additional revenue source (LFM Interview 2018).

The organization's collection ranges from high-style homes to vernacular structures, and when taken together, provide for a wide range of interpretation at the site. The Ordeman-Shaw House, constructed ca. 1850, was the first structure to be acquired by the Landmarks Foundation in 1968. The house is an Italianate building with a Greek Revival interior, with a rear courtyard and several outbuildings, which include an original two-story slave quarters structure, and a reconstructed laundry building (NR Report 1968).

Old Alabama Town is in the unique position of being a major field trip destination for thousands of fourth-grade student in the State of Alabama. Each year, fourth-graders around the state travel to the state capital to learn about Alabama history. In addition to visiting the Museum of Alabama at the Department of Archives and History, students visit Old Alabama Town to learn about nineteenth-century living, according to their mission (www.oldalabamatown.com n.d.).

With a visitorship of over 60,000 per year, most of them students, the Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery has the unique opportunity to highlight what Antebellum life was like in Alabama for all of its residents, including its slave population. The museum has only recently sought to provide a truer interpretation of the slave quarters on the property. Current interpretation relies on the whitewashed narrative that the enslaved people who lived in the City were treated comparatively better than their brothers and sisters in the fields on plantations, and imply that



Top: Old Alabama Town buildings seen from street, 1978.

Bottom: Former slave quarters of Ordeman-Shaw House. New efforts to interpret the slave history at Old Alabama Town are underway.

the freedom to attend church and visit friends and family is somehow compensatory for the fact that they were considered property.

Old Alabama Town also possesses lithographs of several portraits of Creek leaders, which it proudly displays on the walls of its dogtrot cabin, but for which there is only minimal interpretation. Given the dearth of resources in the City as a whole that relate to Montgomery's Native American history, Old Alabama Town has an important opportunity to talk about the City's relationship to its original inhabitants.



Portrait of Paddy-Carr, Creek interpreter, hanging in Old Alabama Town visitor entrance.

Alabama Memorial Preservation Act of 2017.

Introduced in the state legislature in early 2017 and signed into law May 2017, the Alabama Memorial Preservation Act prohibits “the relocation, removal, alteration, renaming, or other disturbance of any architecturally significant building, memorial building, memorial street, or monument located on public property which has been in place for 40 or more years.” In addition, it requires that local governments obtain permission from a state committee before the removal or renaming of those resources older than 20 years.

The Act applies to all public property, which includes state-owned or leased property as well as county and municipal government property throughout the state (Allen 2017). The removal of Confederate flags from the state Capitol grounds by former Governor Robert Bentley is commonly cited as the impetus for the introduction of this bill and other similar bills since 2015 (Cason 2017).

The legislation has drawn significant opposition from many who argue it was passed explicitly to protect Confederate monuments around the state. A statement issued by the Southern Poverty Law Center attests that the act “is not about preserving our state’s history, but about protecting Confederate monuments that celebrate white supremacy and a time in which an entire race was enslaved and oppressed” (Brownstein 2017).

According to the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), there are nearly 2000 Confederate monuments across the United States today, with most erected around the beginning of the twentieth century, as many advances from the Reconstruction era were dismantled and Jim Crow laws were established. As EJI notes, “These monuments serve a function more potent than simply honoring the dead or recounting historical fact.”

The 11-member committee charged with hearing requests for alteration to such memorial structures is known as the Committee on Alabama Monument Protection. Committee members serve four-year terms and are appointed by the Governor, the Senate President Pro Tempore and the Speaker of the House (Allen 2017). The committee was appointed in September 2017 and is comprised of nine men and two women. Eight of the members are white. Senator Bobby Singleton, current Senate minority leader and one of three African Americans on the 11-member Committee, spoke out against the bill before it was passed contesting that it interferes with the sovereignty of local communities, “We are now telling counties what they can do with the monuments or streets that

they are maintaining, that they are preserving at their expense and their costs” (Lyman 2017).

North Carolina, Tennessee, and Mississippi have legislation that similarly protects Confederate monuments. Each of the three states use language that emphasize the protection of certain types of public monuments, such as “objects of remembrance” or monuments that commemorate military conflicts. Tennessee passed its Heritage Protection Act in 2013, requiring a majority vote by its historical commission to remove monuments that commemorate military conflicts and updated it in 2016 to require a vote of two-thirds (Harrop 2017).

MONUMENTS LAW CASE STUDY: BIRMINGHAM

In Birmingham, one mayor has found an alternative solution to the restrictions of the Alabama Memorial Preservation Act. In August 2017, a few short days after the deadly “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, Birmingham Mayor William Bell ordered that the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Linn Park be covered, and a twelve-by-sixteen-foot plywood box was constructed around the base of the 52-foot tall monument.

Mayor Bell was encouraged to remove the monument by Birmingham City Council President Johnathan Austin; Bell contended that he would not break the law, but challenge it (al.com 2017). The State Attorney General’s Office filed suit against the City, alleging that the obstruction of the monument was an unapproved alteration. The outcome of the case could set an important precedent regarding the right of the state to usurp municipal power.

THE NARRATIVE FUNCTION OF HISTORIC RESOURCES

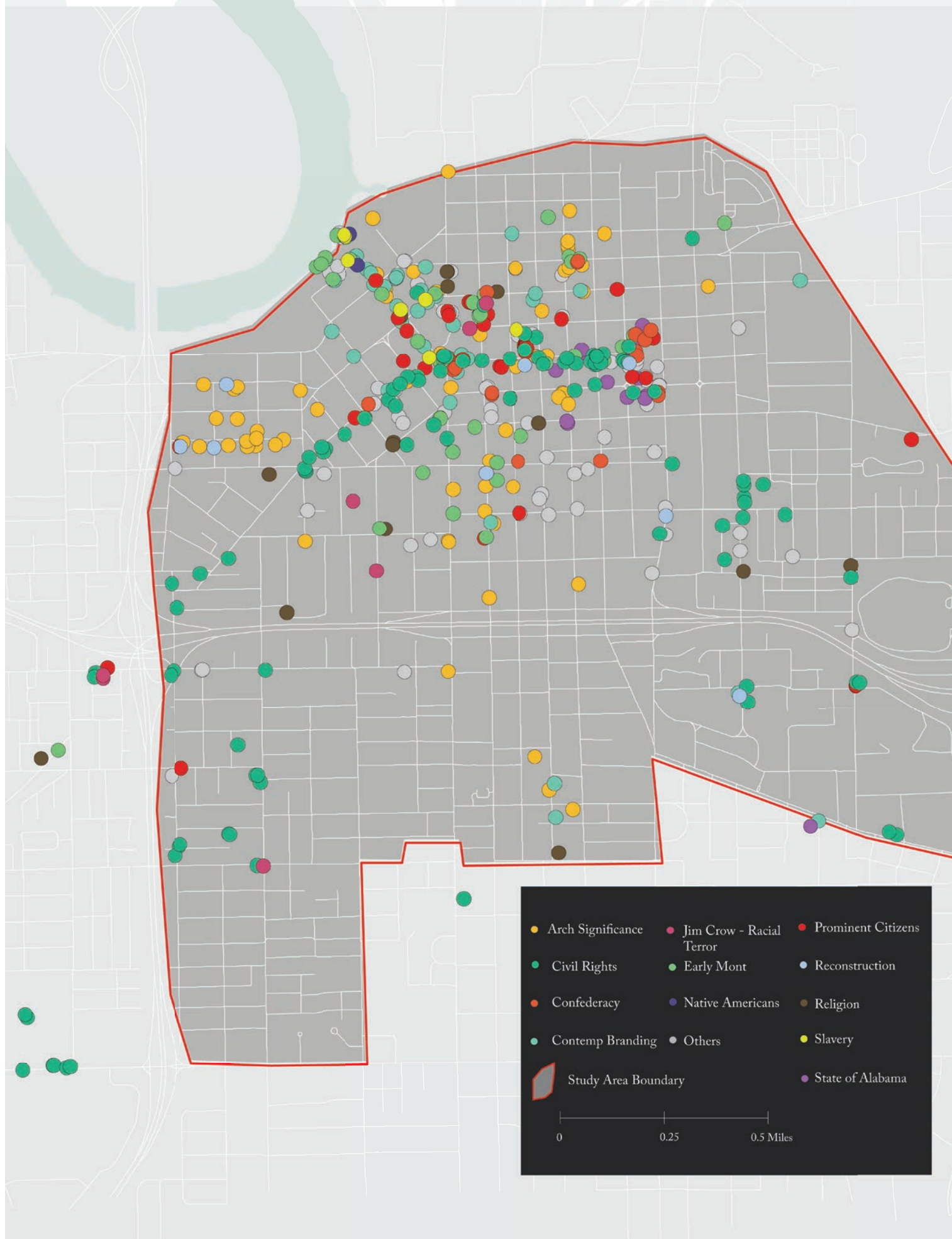
Passing through the built environment of Montgomery, specific narratives are legible and are strongly associated with specific locations and historic resources. Data collected during the course of this project intended to describe the current geographical distribution of resources and narratives, and identify key trends through time as well as the strongest current patterns.

While urban commemorative symbols are often “polyvocal,” expressing meanings beyond their official intent (Nas 1998), this project recorded only what was immediately discernible on site, describing the connection between each resource to at least one of the seventeen narrative categories described in the Methodology section. Again, these narrative categories were defined as follows: Native American History, Early Montgomery, Slavery, Confederacy, Reconstruction Era, Jim Crow and Racial Terror, Other Wars, Civil Rights Movement, Prominent Citizens, Education, Religion, Science & Technology, Architectural Significance, State of Alabama, Contemporary Branding, Other and Unknown.

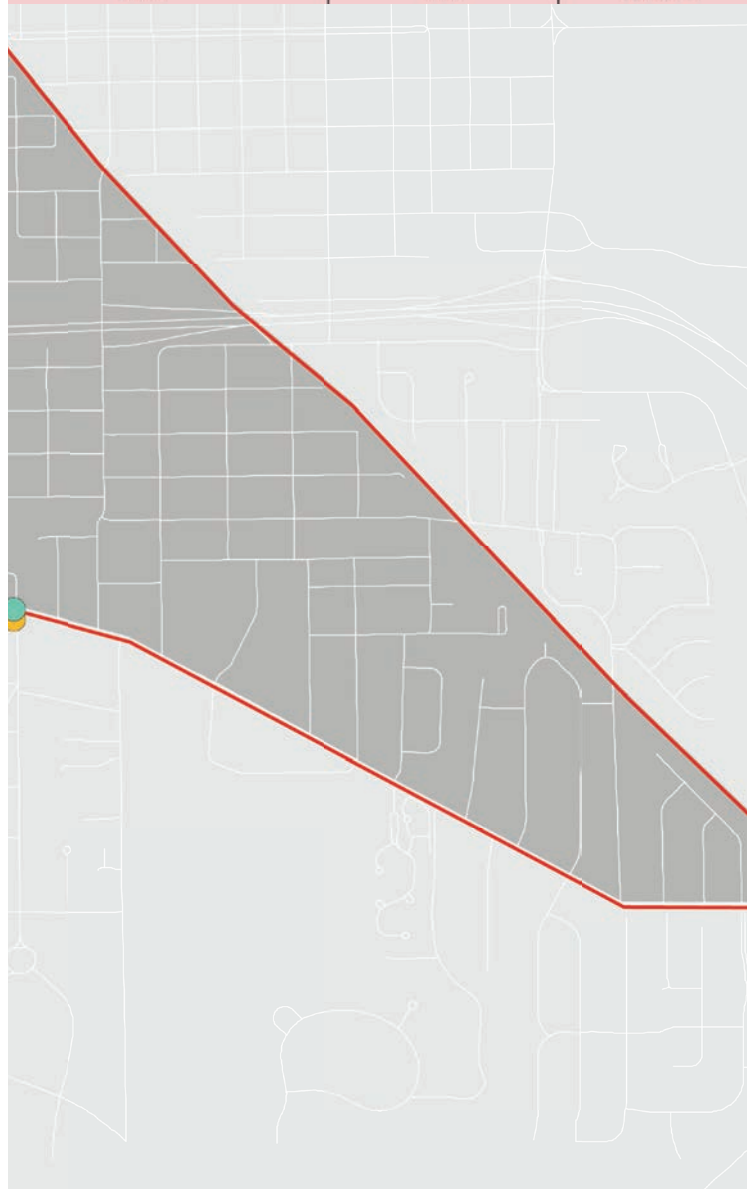




Alabama State Capitol Building,
with footsteps crosswalk, Montgomery, October 2018.



Resource Narrative	Count	Percentage
Civil Rights Movement	108	23.7%
Architectural Significance	70	15.4%
Early Montgomery	45	9.9%
Contemporary Branding	42	9.2%
Prominent Citizens	41	9.0%
Unknown	21	4.6%
Confederacy	18	3.9%
Wars (Non-Confederacy)	17	3.7%
Education	16	3.5%
Religion	15	3.3%
State of Alabama	15	3.3%
Science & Technology	14	3.1%
Slavery	7	1.5%
Reconstruction Era	7	1.5%
Jim Crow - Racial Terror	7	1.5%
Native American History	2	0.4%
Others	11	2.4%
Total	456	100.0%



TRENDS IN TYPOLOGY

During field work in Montgomery, the team documented a total of 456 historic resources. Approximately a third of these were structures designated at the local, state or federal level. These resources already existed in the city-wide database, but the survey captured additional information about the narrative that they appear to broadcast about the city. The remaining two-thirds of these resources included stand-alone signs, official historical markers, statues/monuments, open spaces, museums and interpretive sites, public art and other typologies. This survey represents the first effort to comprehensively catalogue these additional resources and add them to the basemap of the city.

At first glance, these resources are so densely clustered that the only apparent trend is that most are concentrated in the area of downtown Montgomery, north of Interstate 85 and east of Interstate 65--hardly surprising given that this area represents the historic core of the city. In order to parse this information, it is worth briefly characterizing the historic resources according to their typology.

Districting is a Neglected Tool.

There are eight local historic districts within and immediately adjacent to the study area: Capitol Heights, Cloverdale, Cloverdale-Idlewild, Cottage Hill, Garden District, Highland Avenue, Lower Commerce, and North Hull. In many cases, a given district has also been recognized on the state and the national level as well, albeit with some variation in the district boundary. Most of these districts were designated in the 1980s, and as was frequently the case at that time, the designation reports generally focused on architectural merit.

Only three districts are fully within the study area (Cottage Hill, Lower Commerce, and North Hull) with the Garden District partially within the study area. They are all residential areas except for Commerce Street which runs along the main business spine of the city. Prior to the end of the Civil War, this area is where many slave traders had their offices. Commerce Street, the Garden District, and Cloverdale (outside of the study area) are listed both locally and nationally. Alabama State University is the only district designated at the state and national levels but not locally. Cottage Hill is the only neighborhood with all three levels of designation, and it is also the oldest district, having been inscribed on the State register in 1975.

Stakeholders affiliated with the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Consortium expressed a desire to increase the number of historic districts, seeking to elevate neighborhoods like Centennial Hill that played a central role in the economic and cultural life of the African American community. Since 1989, no new National Register districts have been created, and while the local process for district nomination tends to be more flexible, the recent dormancy of the MHPC has meant that the creation of new historic districts has not been on the agenda of the municipal authorities. Given the diverse character of resources within each district, this study did not attempt to assign a particular narrative at the district scale, though it should be noted that these districts largely comprise the historic commercial center of Montgomery and predominantly white residential neighborhoods.

Historic Designations are Stagnant.

Historic buildings designated at the local, state or federal level made up just over a third of all the surveyed resources, the most numerous of all the resource typologies recorded during this survey. Many of these buildings enjoy more than one designation. The Alabama State Capitol is notable in that it was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 1960, before the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, under the name “First Confederate Capitol” (National Park Service 1960). In the first two decades after the new legislation, between 1966 and 1986, fully three quarters of these historic buildings were designated.

In recent years, nomination/designation activity has been noticeably less frequent, reinforcing the notion that the MHPC has been largely dormant. Between 2006 and the present, only one building, the Clay Street Baptist Church, was designated for the first time (though it lies outside of the study area, west of I-65) and it was listed on the statewide Alabama Register of Landmarks & Heritage rather than the local register. In this way, one of the strongest conventional tools of preservation—offering additional recognition and protection through designation—has been largely neglected in recent years.

Nevertheless, private sector advocates in Montgomery continue to highlight the role of historic places, complementing the role of government. Beyond the efforts of Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery mentioned previously, the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute recently identified 20 Alabama African-American Civil Rights Heritage Consortium Sites, and nine of these sites are in Montgomery. The sites consist of places of worship, lodging, and civic engagement that have played a part in the improvement of African American life since Reconstruction (Birmingham Civil Rights Institute 2017). The Consortium Sites were included on World Monuments Fund 2018 Watch List. The Watch List recognizes internationally significant sites that either face significant pressures or conservation opportunities.



Ben Moore Hotel, located at Jackson and High Streets in Centennial Hill, is one of the Consortium sites.

Only a third of the surveyed buildings were assigned a primary narrative of architectural significance, while the remainder were assigned to other narratives. This suggests that the majority of designated historic structures in Montgomery successfully convey many messages about the city's past beyond their architectural style, though this trend is certainly bolstered by the fact that many of these properties also have associated historic markers explaining their significance in greater detail.



Sign in a periphery of the study area near Holt Street, calling residents and the City to action in order to preserve their history.

1 Cottage Hill

Cottage Hill is Montgomery's oldest local historic district. It is roughly bound by Goldthwaite, Bell, Holt, and Clayton. The residential blocks date back to the 1839 when they were laid out by land speculator Edward Hanrick, also known as "Horseshoe Ned." The district is one of the most intact Victorian-era neighborhoods in the city and is comprised to mainly one- and two- story residences from the late 19th century. The neighborhood is both locally designed and on the National Register of Historic Places.

2 Lower Commerce Street

The Lower Commerce Historic District was placed on the National Register in 1979, with boundary increases in 1982 and 1987. The original district contains a collection of commercial structures dating primarily from the 1880s to the early 1900s. The NRHP designation report cites that with the confluence of two major means of transportation -- proximity to the river and the arrival of the railroad (in 1851) -- "the area rapidly developed as the wholesale district for central Alabama."

3 North Hull / Old Alabama Town

The North Hull Historic District encompasses both sides of North Hull Street, bounded by Randolph Street and Madison Avenue. It appears that buildings within the district are associated with the Old Alabama Town and Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery. Old Alabama Town has "over 50 authentically restored 19th and early 20th century structures stretching along six blocks in downtown historic Montgomery." (Old Alabama Town Landmarks Foundation) The North Hull Street Historic District is a local district and is not listed on the National Register

4 Garden District

The Garden District is a large residential district platted in the 1870s. The district is roughly bounded by East Jeff Davis Avenue, Norman Bridge Road, Fairview Avenue, and Court Street. The neighborhood is laid out in a block grid system with wide parallel streets running north and south, intersected by narrower streets running east and west. Larger homes are concentrated on the wider streets with smaller cottages on the narrow streets. A notable unifying feature throughout the district is the consistent use of hexagonal, Schillinger, concrete sidewalk pavers.





5 Capitol Heights

Capitol Heights began as a city separate from Montgomery and was incorporated in 1908. The first mayor was J. S. Pinckard, founder and president of the Capitol Heights Development Company--the same company that laid out the entire suburb. Restrictions were written into the deeds mandating the size and quality of homes to be built. Many of the early property owners were Greek immigrants. The city incorporated with Montgomery in 1926.

6 Highland Avenue

Highland Park is widely considered to be Montgomery's first streetcar suburb. It was platted in 1887, when the city's streetcar system was electrified. Edwin Joseph, the president of the City's electric streetcar system, was also the land speculator for the neighborhood. From the very beginning the neighborhood was blue collar and the majority of homes are vernacular or Folk Victorian.

7 Cloverdale / Idlewild

One of the younger neighborhoods in Montgomery, Idlewild or Cloverdale Idlewild began to develop around 1937. Many homes from this early period are kit houses. The neighborhood is a locally designated historic district. In contrast to the Garden District, Cloverdale is characterized by its curving streets and irregularly sized lots.

 National

 State

 Local

 Study Area Boundary

0 0.25 0.5 Miles



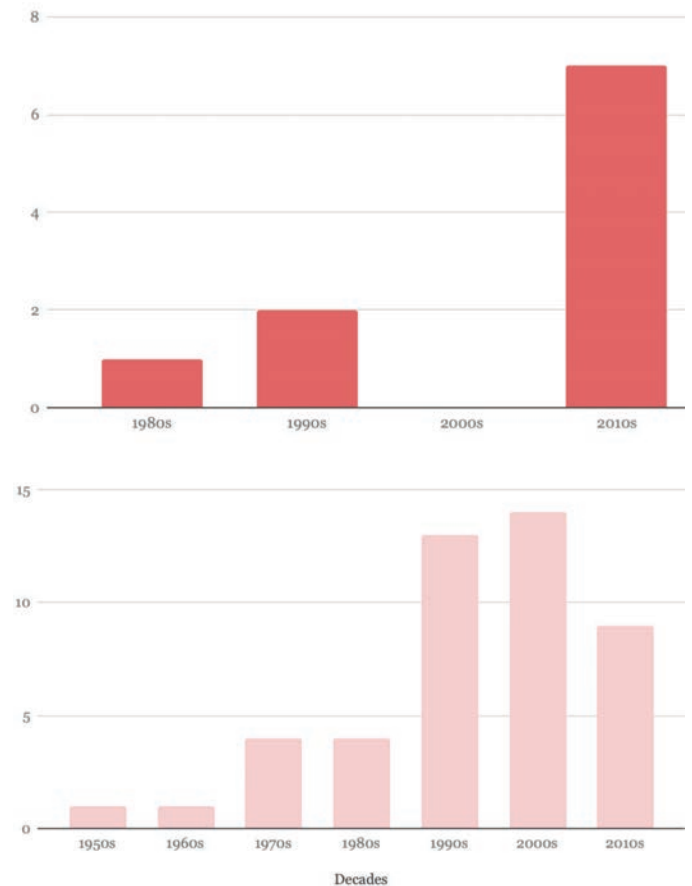
Historic Markers Installed at Record Rates.

Beyond districts and historic buildings, the team recorded stand-alone signs and official historical markers. When these two categories are combined, they account for nearly half of all survey entries. Montgomery considers itself as the most historically-markered city in America and the municipality has created a relatively streamlined review process for groups seeking to erect new official historic markers. This has recently been an active space—all but 12 of the 76 official historic markers recorded have been erected since 1990.

Two organizations, the private Alabama Historical Association, and the state-level Alabama Historical Commission are the two biggest sponsors of historical markers in Montgomery. The Association began sponsoring markers as early as 1950, whereas the Commission program commenced in 1975. Ten of the Alabama Historical Association's 47 markers were erected from the 1950s - 1980s, but the bulk of the assets have been placed in the last three decades, with 14 markers dating from the 2000s alone. It is unclear if some of these newer markers are replacements for old signs. In terms of the Alabama Historical Commission, more than half of their 13 markers were erected in the 2010s. Nearly a quarter of the assets did not have a date inscribed. A breadth of other non-governmental entities, including the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Society of St. Jude, Equal Justice Initiative also contributed markers.

In some cases, a marker is all that is left to memorialize something that happened at a site since the associated structure no longer exists. Nearly all of the official markers related to the Confederacy are associated with an existing structure, whereas only about half of the official markers related to Civil Rights are associated with an existing building. It may be that certain narratives are more likely to be expressed through a historic marker because the associated buildings are no longer present. It is also striking that the markers recorded disproportionately represent men in history, while only four represent women.

Additional markers and signage documented by the



Above: Chart showing markers erected by Alabama Historical Commission.

Below: Chart showing markers erected by Alabama Historical Association.

survey teams include street signage demarcating historic heritage trails, as well as city-installed wayfinding signage, contemporary branding, and less permanent installations, such as stickers on the sidewalks installed by the chamber of commerce, and signs advertising upcoming events. In 2015, the green street signs along the Selma to Montgomery March were replaced with brown signs, to identify the streets as part of the National Historic Trail and commemorate the 50th anniversary of the march. However, many in the community feel that this was a paltry attempt by the city to make up for the long-time neglect of the western neighborhoods of Montgomery and the destruction of some of the neighborhoods along the March route during the construction of the interstate highway (Yawn 2018).

While this pervasive signage conveys less historical information than the official markers, it offers an important indication as to how the city and other stakeholders have prioritized individual sites and narratives. The signs for the Selma to Montgomery

March are concentrated along the march route itself, and were installed by the city with federal support. The less numerous but more prominent signs on I-85 directing drivers to exits providing access to the First White House of the Confederacy were installed by the Alabama Department of Transportation.

Statues, Memorials, and Monuments Concentrated at The Capitol.

Out of the 65 statues, memorials and monuments recorded during this survey, most are clustered in the historic core of the city. More than one-fifth of these resources are on the grounds of the Alabama State Capitol, which is the single largest concentration of this resource type anywhere in the city.

While fully one-in-six of these resources was connected to the narrative of the Civil Rights Movement throughout the city, there is not a single monument to the Civil Rights Movement on the grounds of the Capitol. Simultaneously, at the level of the city, this survey only recorded four monuments associated with the Confederacy. All four of these monuments are on the grounds of the Capitol. In this way, the statues, memorials and monuments associated with the state house project a narrative that diverges significantly with the memorialization schemes elsewhere in the city.

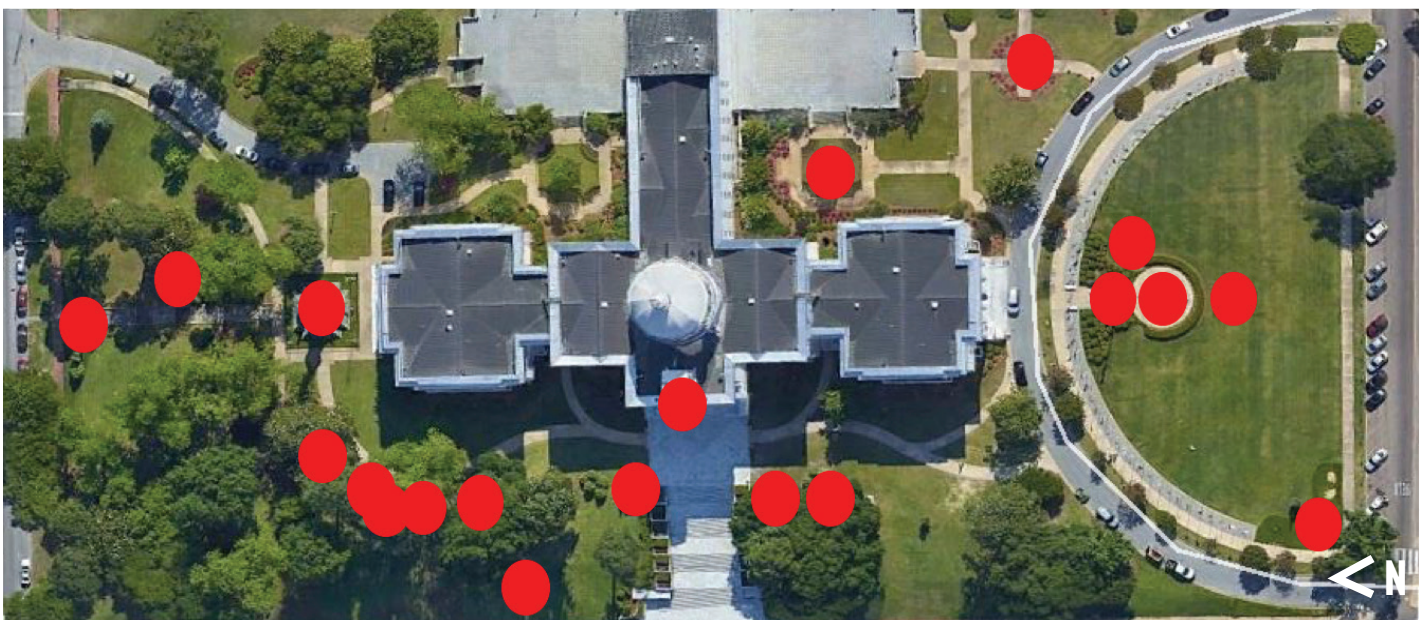
Open Space Limited but Offers Opportunity.

Fifteen public open spaces were recorded within the study area, ranging from plazas associated with office buildings to the wide streets surrounding Court Square to more conventional parks like Oak Park and the Riverwalk. Most of these spaces were relatively small in scale and appeared to be underutilized. As much as they were characterized as “open space,” few of them were really “greenspace,” and none of them appeared to be natural gathering points. Nevertheless, almost all of them contain didactic material describing aspects of the history of the city, often focused on events that occurred on or near the park itself. Given the relative flexibility of these spaces and the existing responsibility of the municipality to care for many of these spaces, they represent some of the strongest and most visible opportunities to present narratives about the city.



Left: The Riverwalk appears to be an underutilized public space.

Below: The grounds of the Alabama State Capitol host the single densest concentration of statues, monuments, and memorials anywhere in the city, highlighted here in red. Despite the density of commemoration, none of these resources address either slavery or the Civil Rights movement.



STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL EMPIRE
HERE ON MAY 24, 1703, ALABAMA INDIANS
AMBUSHED THE FIRST FRENCH EXPLORERS
FROM MOBILE, KILLING THREE AND WOUNDING
TWO CRITICALLY. THE INDIANS WERE ARMED AND
WERE USED AS PAWNS BY BRITISH AGENTS FROM
CAROLINA IN THE EUROPEAN STRUGGLE FOR
DOMINION OVER NORTH AMERICA.
MONTGOMERY CENTER
NATIONAL SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES IN AMERICA
IN THE STATE OF ALABAMA
1979



Two markers near Union Station are among the very limited representation of Native American history in the study area.



Here at the Indian village of
ENCANCHATA,
future site of Montgomery,
Col. John Tate, last British agent
to the Muscogee Nation, recruited
and drilled Creek warriors in 1780
to relieve Tories
in Augusta, Ga. being besieged by
American patriots.

GEN. RICHARD MONTGOMERY CHAPTER SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Platform Needed for Museums and Interpretive Sites.

There are at least thirteen museums or public-facing interpretative sites focused on history within the study area. Some, like Old Alabama Town, are relatively large and strive to interpret the entire history of the city (or state of Alabama), while others like the Freedom Rides Museum are small in scale and focus on a singular chapter of history. Most of these sites are supported under the umbrella of larger institutions, including the State Department of Archives and History (State of Alabama), the Rosa Parks Library and Museum (Troy University), the National Center for the Study of Civil Rights and African American Culture (Alabama State University), the Civil Rights Memorial Center (Southern Poverty Law Center), the City of St. Jude Interpretive Center (St. Jude), the Freedom Rides Museum (Alabama Historical Commission), and the Legacy Museum and National Memorial for Peace and Justice (Equal Justice Initiative). This arrangement enables these museums to sustain themselves, but it also allows them each to exist within their own silo.

A typical visitor to Montgomery will not have time to visit all of these small museums, and a zero-sum attitude prevails: either a visitor comes to a particular site or they take their business elsewhere. For this reason, there is little collaboration or cross-promotion between these sites. While representatives of these sites likely belong to the same professional groups such as the Small Museums Association, there is no platform at the municipal level to facilitate exchange among these different institutions.

For a medium sized city, it should be noted that this is a large concentration of small historical museums, yet they are sustained by outside visitors. Old Alabama Town and the Department of Archives and History both benefit from thousands of Alabama elementary school children who visit these sites as part of mandatory field trips. Following the inauguration of the Legacy Museum and National Memorial for Peace and Justice, visitor numbers to Montgomery are up, with an estimated 400,000 additional visits to the city between April 2018-April 2019. This encouraging trend suggests that there may be enough visitation now to support an association of Montgomery museums seeking to address issues of common concern.

While such a platform is sorely lacking, its potential creation comes at an opportune time. As the city proceeds with its master plan, it is planning towards a Montgomery that visitors will want to visit more than once. These key institutions act as a gateway to the city for outsiders and have an opportunity to play an active role in shaping the Montgomery 2040 plan.

Top Right: Freedom Rides Museum.

Bottom Right: The National Memorial for Peace and Justice.

Resource Type	Count
Building	147
Other stand-alone signage	127
Official historical marker	77
Statue, memorial, or other monument	65
Open space	15
Museum (Interpretive center; non-historic site)	12
Other	9
Public Art	4
Grand Total	456



Public Art on the Rise.

Public art installations and other alternative ways of commemorating history through place are not common in Montgomery, but in certain cases, they are very effective. One particularly strong example is the footprints in the crosswalk in front of the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church, commemorating the end of the Selma to Montgomery march. Through a subtle alteration to a conventional crosswalk, pedestrians are reminded in a general sense of the importance of Dexter Ave. and its role as crowds congregated to listen to speeches at the end of the march.

In 2015, the Five Points neighborhood received a grant from ArtPlace America, supporting a series of façade renovations to help fulfill their ambition to become an arts and cultural district (ArtPlace 2015). This vision has yet to be fully realized, but is most evident in the cultural programming at the Sanctuary, 432 Goldwaithe Street.

Following the conclusion of the field survey, the City of Montgomery welcomed the Inside Out Project, a global art project that posts portraits of community members in public spaces, helping them “tell their stories where they live.” The large scale photos of community members, many of them collected at a photo booth that had been installed at the Sanctuary, were printed and pasted to the side of One Court Square at the end of Dexter Avenue.

The success of these interventions suggests that there is further room for public art to advance discussions of history and community in Montgomery.

Below: Street art commissioned by Southern Poverty Law Center new Downtown.

Top Right: Mural on side wall of Legacy Museum.

Bottom Right: Inside Out Project in Court Square.



*"History, despite its wrenching pain,
cannot be unlived, but if faced with
courage, need not be lived again."*

Maya Angelou



TRENDS IN NARRATIVE

Parsing these sites further according to the field survey criteria, trends in narrative distribution, sponsorship, relative visual prominence, and the chronology of commemoration become apparent.

Narratives play out hierarchically in the landscape; a monument has a much stronger presence than this historical marker, for example. Each type of resource is encountered and understood very differently in the landscape. Certain histories bear almost no presence on the landscape, and oftentimes, a marker is all that is left to recognize a site or event. The number of resources attributed to a narrative is not always indicative of how well that narrative is spatialized.

The Confederacy and Civil Rights were found to be represented by many resources in the survey, but this representation is not necessarily spatialized equally within the landscape. For example, half of all Confederate resources are comprised of buildings or monuments, whereas a little over a quarter of Civil Rights sites are spatialized in such a way. Instead, the Civil Rights Movement is highly marked - and largely spatialized by historic trail signage. As mentioned in the Markers section, this type of street signage is seen by many in the community as compensation for more under-spatialized narratives.

A bulk of the subsequent analyses is based on the primary perceived narratives of individual historical resources. The fieldwork methodology enabled surveyors to choose both a 'primary' and 'secondary' perceived narrative for each resource. The chart aggregates both narrative fields to present a more comprehensive picture of the histories being illuminated in Montgomery's urbanscape. The Civil Rights Movement narrative was documented 118 times, followed by Architectural Significance (94) and Prominent Citizens in Culture (66). Although a composite of factors is necessary to identify discernible trends in the city's public history, this chart provides a starting point to understand the types of narratives represented by Montgomery's historic assets.

Focusing solely on the primary narratives attributed to historical assets, the most frequent was Early Montgomery (45%), a broad topic that combines the

American Revolution, the city's founding, and the Antebellum Era. Other frequent primary narratives included the Civil Rights Movement (23.7%) and Architectural Significance (15.4%). Although the city has long described itself in part as the "Cradle of the Confederacy", the surveyors only documented a total of 18 assets with this primary perceived narrative.

The four least frequent narratives—Slavery, Reconstruction Era, Jim Crow-Racial Terror and Native American – represent four strong opportunities for future schemes of memorialization. Each of these themes had a strong role in shaping the physical, historical and social conditions of Montgomery yet they are currently less legible in the built environment of the city.

Narrative Distribution.

In downtown Montgomery, the distribution of narratives was relatively diverse, whereas historic resources in peripheral areas were largely perceived to be associated with either the Civil Rights Movement or Architectural Significance. In a few instances, students traveled beyond the defined study area to document resources of particular significance, such as the markers and statues at the City of St. Jude in the extreme southwest, home to the fourth camp of the Selma to Montgomery march.

The city's Civil Rights Movement resources are generally oriented in a linear fashion, although a few clusters do exist. The most apparent area of interest is the long succession of assets strung along Montgomery Street and Dexter Avenue. These thoroughfares are important because they made up the route of the 1965 Selma to Montgomery March. Another road with a concentration of resources is South Jackson Street in the Centennial Hill neighborhood. This street is home to the Martin Luther King Jr. Parsonage and the Ben Moore Hotel. South Holt Street is an interesting road to analyze since it was bustling commercial thoroughfare before the construction of the interstates decimated the neighborhood. Several churches integral to the Civil Rights Movement, exist along South Holt Street, including the Holt Street Baptist Church which was an integral gathering place during the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The most-concentrated cluster of Civil Rights assets is at the corner of Dexter Avenue and South Decatur Street - home to Dr. King's former

congregation, the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

Removing the 17 street signs designating the Selma to Montgomery March trail, this linear trend is still evident, albeit less pronounced. A number of other Civil Rights sites are located on Montgomery Street, including the Rosa Parks Museum and a series of interpretive panels about the Selma to Montgomery March which were installed by the city for the event's fiftieth anniversary. Some other nodes of Civil Rights assets includes the Alabama State University campus and the Society of St. Jude (the site of the fourth camp of the Selma to Montgomery March).

Montgomery's Confederacy resources are clustered in a few prominent sections of the city. The first nexus of such assets is at Court Square, which has been the commercial and administrative center of the city since its beginnings. Resources here include the Winter Building, which is where the Confederate States of America ordered the attack on Fort Sumter which commenced the Civil War. Also found on Court Square are a number of resources associated with the Civil Rights Movement, and the development of the city. This part of the city presents a diversity of narratives about the city. The concentration of Confederate monuments on the grounds of the Alabama State Capitol is noticeably different. There, resources including a large statue of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, the Confederate Memorial Monument, and the Jefferson Davis Inaugural Star all stand in the context of few other narratives.

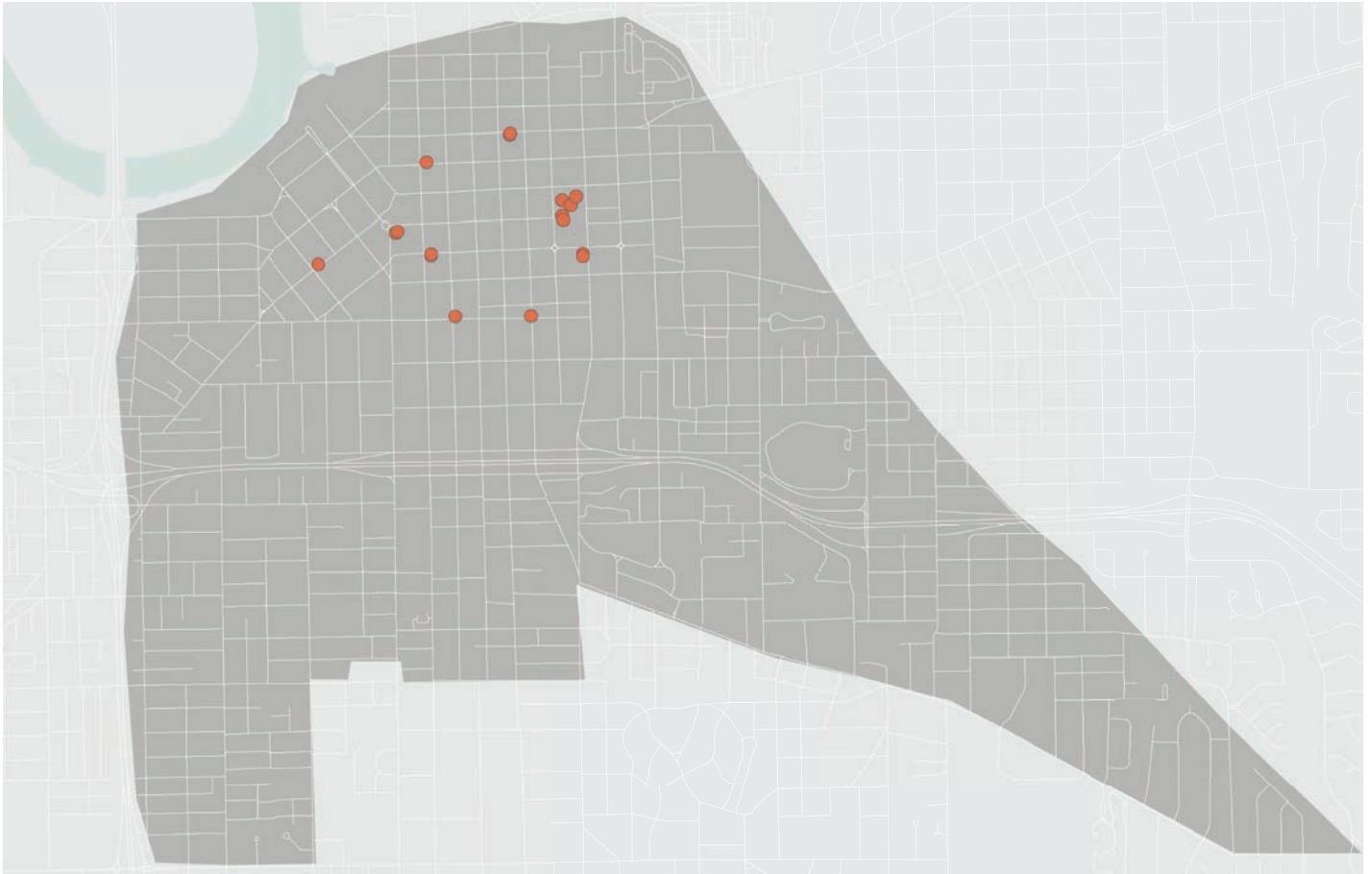
One exception to this cluster of Confederate monuments are the statues of the surgeons James Marion Sims and his student and son-in-law John Allan Wyeth. The legacy of Sims, who has been widely honored nationwide as a pioneer of gynecology, has recently been subject to greater scrutiny as his practice of experimenting and operating on enslaved women in Alabama and, later, immigrant women in New York without anesthesia. In New York, a city commission that reviewed "symbols of hate" across the city made only one recommendation for a monument to be removed: the statue of Sims in Central Park (Newman 2018).

It remains important to note that some narratives, particularly the Native American history of the region,

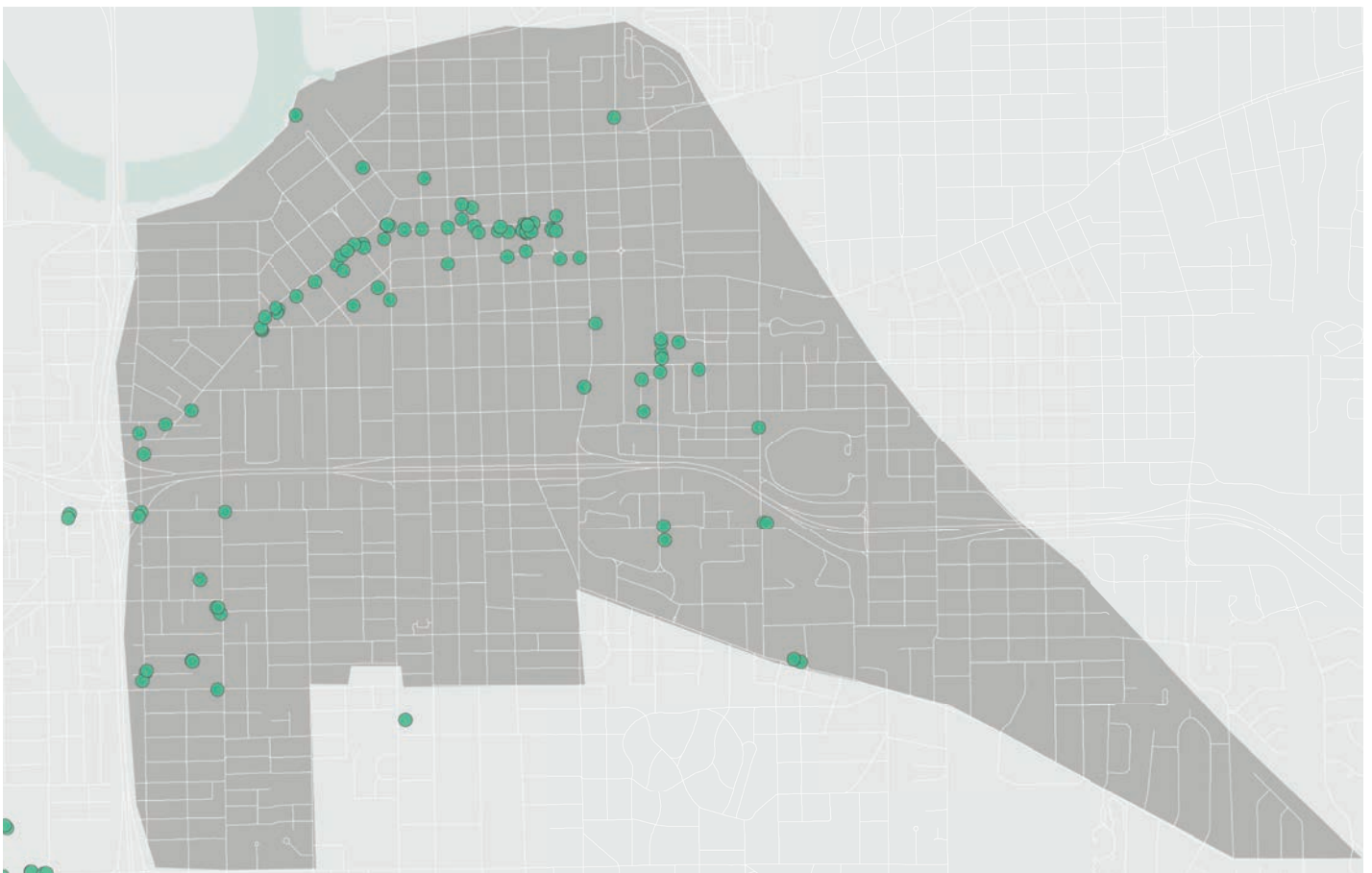
are barely evident at all in the built environment. The recent opening of the National Memorial for Peace and Justice is a strong example of the power of creating a place to convey underrepresented narratives (in that case, racially-motivated terror).



Part of the disparity in built resources between the two narratives of Civil War vs Civil Rights is tied directly to the loss of those resources. In this case, a marker is all that is left to memorialize something that happened at a site. This sign tells the story of a police cover up in which an innocent black man was shot and killed by police for a crime he did not commit.

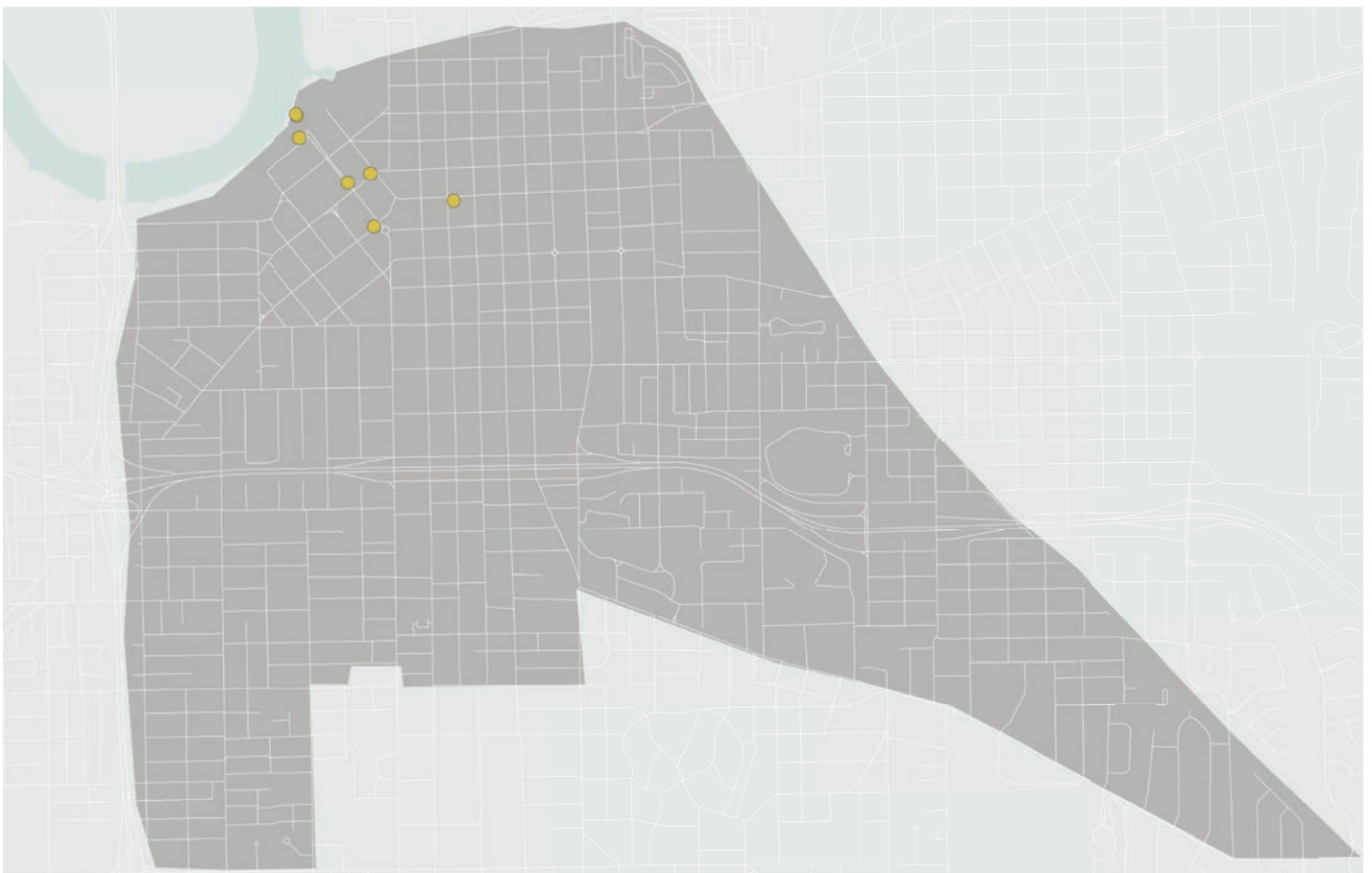


Above: Resources associated with the Confederacy narrative; **Below:** Resources associated with the Civil Rights narrative.





Above: Resources associated with the Native American narrative; **Below:** Resources associated with the Slavery narrative.





Though numerous, resources associated with the Civil Rights narrative are generally signs.



Though fewer in number, the monuments of the Confederacy, particularly those on the grounds of the State Capitol are among the most visually prominent historic resources anywhere in the city.

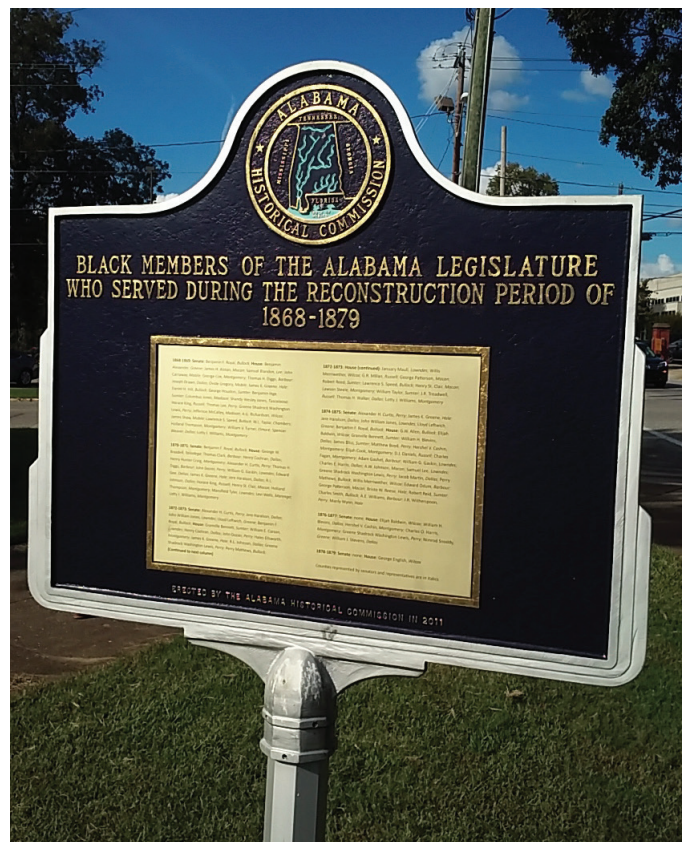
Sponsorship of Narrative.

Out of the various typologies recorded, the official historical markers most directly describe what entity or entities sponsored their creation. Given the diverse narratives catalogued above, it is worth asking which organizations have been promoting various narratives and why.

Out of the 77 official historical markers, 47 were erected by the Alabama Historical Association, the oldest statewide historical society. As a not-for-profit, the AHA has been able to adopt a relatively flexible approach, partnering with other groups including the Chamber of Commerce and the Historical Preservation and Promotion Foundation, and posting signs commemorating structures that have since been destroyed. By contrast, the Alabama Historical Commission, which functions as the Alabama state historic preservation office, has sponsored 13 historical markers. It must abide by relatively strict criteria when it erects a sign, only doing so to express the narratives of standing buildings that are designated by the state or federal historic registers.

The markers erected by the AHA address a wide range of narratives, with Early Montgomery being most common (12 markers), followed by the Civil Rights Movement (10 markers), followed by Prominent Citizens (5 markers). Only four markers were associated with the Confederacy. It is worth mentioning that some narratives had very few markers despite their prominent role in shaping the history of the city including slavery (1 marker) and Jim Crow (2 markers). No AHA historic marker addresses Native American history in the area and the legacy of the Trail of Tears.

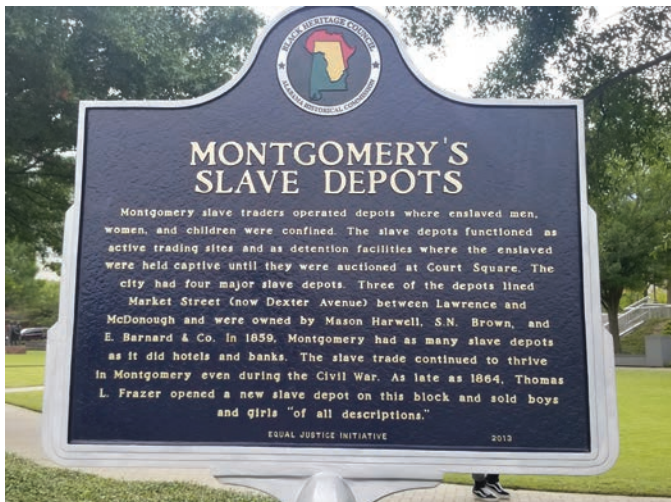
Though there are fewer markers associated with the Alabama Historical Commission, their narrative distribution is somewhat similar, though seemingly skewed more intentionally towards lesser represented narratives: Civil Rights Movement (3 markers), slavery (3 markers), Reconstruction era (2 markers). There is one marker each for Confederacy, Architectural Significance, Early Montgomery, Prominent Citizens in Culture, and Government. Once again, there are no markers associated with Native American history.



Top: Marker erected by the AHA.

Bottom: Marker erected by AHC.

Not surprisingly in both cases, the narratives disseminated trend towards points of civic pride, whereas narratives in which people were ill-treated occur less frequently. The 2013 partnership between the Alabama Historical Commission and the Equal Justice Initiative to install three markers discussing the role of slavery in the city points towards the kind of approach that may be successful in future efforts to confront painful narratives.



Marker erected by the EJI.

Relative Visual Prominence of Narratives.

Some narratives were more prominent than others. The chart below describes the primary perceived narratives associated with the 137 resources that were “very prominent” in the survey. The fourth column assesses how many resources are “very prominent” compared to the total resources for each primary perceived narrative. Although there are only 18 total resources concerning the Confederacy, 44% of these assets were described as ‘very prominent’, including the Confederate Memorial and the statue of Jefferson Davis, both on the grounds of the State Capitol. Only 23% of the 108 Civil Rights Movement assets were listed as “very prominent,” with many of these resources being historical markers along the sidewalk. A total of 79 resources were perceived as being “not prominent.” The highest share of “not prominent” assets by primary perceived narrative relates to famous Montgomery citizens (27.3% of total resources in this narrative category). These inconspicuous resources were either stand-alone signage or statues. Other resources with low visual prominence were categorized as dealing with Architectural Significance (28.8% of narrative total) and Science & Technology (25.7% of narrative total).

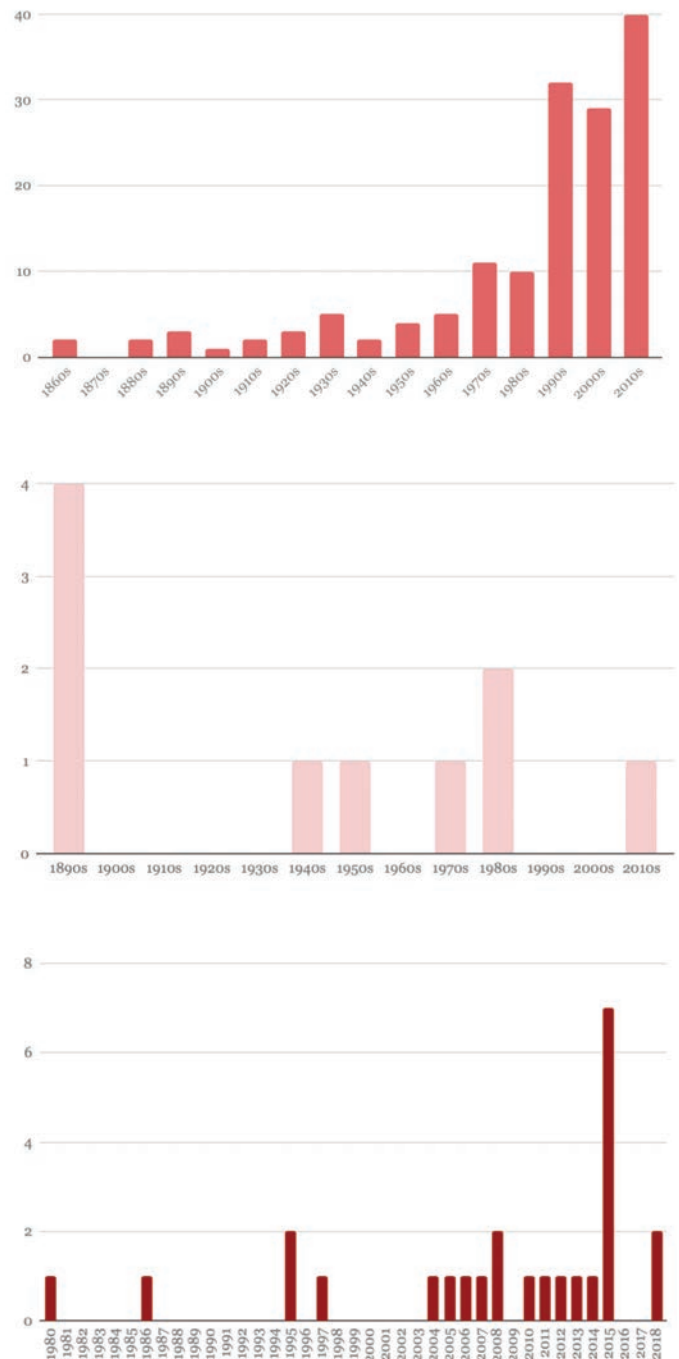
Primary Narrative	Count of Very Prominent Resources	Total Resources with Primary Narrative	Percentage of Total Resources that are Visually Prominent
Reconstruction Era	0	7	0.0%
Native American History	1	2	50.0%
Jim Crow - Racial Terror	2	7	28.6%
Slavery	3	7	42.9%
Science & Technology	3	14	21.4%
Religion	3	15	20.0%
Unknown	3	21	14.3%
Others	4	11	36.4%
State of Alabama	4	15	26.7%
Wars (non-confederacy)	8	17	47.1%
Confederacy	8	18	44.4%
Prominent Citizens in Culture	8	41	19.5%
Education	10	16	62.5%
Contemporary Branding	16	42	38.1%
Early Montgomery	16	45	35.6%
Architectural Significance	23	70	32.9%
Civil Rights Movement	25	108	23.1%
Grand Total	137	456	

Evolution of Narratives through Time.

Acts of memorialization were not as common during the first century of the city's history. Subtracting all buildings from the data set, the team documented only seven resources erected in the nineteenth century. There are relatively few assets from the 1860s to the 1960s, which averaged less than three assets per decade. Memorialization increased in the 1970s when 11 assets were added to the cityscape including an old electric streetcar exhibit, a tree on the Capitol grounds commemorating the Apollo 14 mission, and an Alabama Historical Association historical marker about the home of Governor Thomas Jones. There has been a proliferation of memorialization in recent decades with 32 resources erected during the 1990s, 29 during the 2000s, and 40 from 2010 to 2018. It is worth noting that all of these figures are low estimations since 157 assets did not have a date listed.

Different narratives have been honored at different times in Montgomery's history. The biggest surge of resources related to the Confederacy occurred in the 1890s when two trees from the Civil War battlefields of Virginia and the Confederate Memorial Monument were added to the grounds of Alabama State Capitol. Most recently, an official marker sponsored by the Alabama Historical Commission was erected in 2012 to commemorate the Confederate States of America (CSA) Post Office Department.

Over the past several decades, the Civil Rights Movement has achieved greater recognition in the built environment. The first Civil Rights Movement resource was erected in 1980, and there were only four additional resources with this primary perceived narrative added in the city over the next two decades. Then, a new wave of Civil Rights assets were installed in 2015, due in part to the 50th year anniversary of the Selma to Montgomery March, in which the city added public art installations at the Five Points intersection and the City of St. Jude. Narratives confronting painful aspects of the city's past are a very recent addition to the landscape. The first marker dedicated to slavery wasn't erected until after 2000, and the first confronting the legacy of "racial terror" wasn't erected until 2010. The city has the opportunity to continue to blaze trails along these trajectories.



Top: All Resources (minus buildings) by year and decade erected.

Middle: Confederacy Resources by Date Erected

Bottom: Civil Rights Resources by Date Erected



Members of the Ku Klux Klan waiting on the steps of the State Capitol during the Selma to Montgomery March, 1965.



National Memorial for Peace and Justice
Montgomery, October 2018.



Studio member in the National Memorial for Peace and Justice. Montgomery, October 2018.

KEY ISSUES

This studio explores the nexus of long sought-after governmental action, re-energized public engagement, and technological advancement that may help inform and guide the decision-making process for Montgomery in the months to come, as the city works to create its first comprehensive plan since the 1960s.

A qualitative study of the city's conditions has been tied to data-driven research and analysis, and finds that the strengths of the city lie in its history, the sheer number of physical resources tied to history, and the people who are willing to share their stories. However, this research also identified key physical and socio-political narrative issues that often preclude those strengths, and which need to be addressed in the city's Envision Montgomery 2040 Comprehensive Plan.

From a physical standpoint, the merging of two historic towns has left a unique, walkable central business district that is seeing signs of new investment. However, what could be a vibrant downtown stretch from the Alabama State Capitol to Court Square is stifled by commercial vacancies and exacerbated by limited mobility options. Additionally, within and beyond the central downtown are a number of empty lots where vibrant residential and commercial activity once thrived. Institutionalized racism codified through redlining began segregating populations, but as the city sprawled outward through growth and annexation, the walkability of the city further suffered as commercial activity was channeled toward car-dependent corridors along the interstate.

Montgomery faces both physical and emotional neighborhood connectivity issues. The death of the streetcar after the advent of the personal automobile and the troubled history of the bus system have left the outer reaches of the city in dire need of a transit rehaul. Even more so, neighborhoods in the southern portion of the city were systematically destroyed in favor of the interstate. What remained was severed from the central business district and simultaneously heightened the city's car dependence.

The creation of the interstate has scarred Montgomery's landscape, leaving what was seen as undevelopable and inactive tracts of land adjacent to neighborhoods

lacking quality public open space. This trend of limited quality open space continues across the city, with underutilized plazas in the downtown and disinvested parks across residential neighborhoods. Open space has not only been affected by the interstates but also suffered due to the city's historic resistance to integration. In response to court ordered integration, the city filled in its public swimming pools and closed parks, as discussed in the case of Oak Park.

However, private spaces such as the Equal Justice Initiative's Memorial for Peace and Justice and Old Alabama Town's reconstructed townscape have flourished in their design and ability to attract national and international visitors. Additionally, every third grader in the state of Alabama visits Old Alabama Town. A number of high-quality interpretive centers and historic sites, like the Freedom Rides Museum, augment a landscape filled with histories of great importance to the socio-political climate of today. Montgomery wants to take this energy and reinvent itself into more than just a city in which you visit for a day, but a city with so much to offer that one must have an extended stay to see it all. The city would like to attract new residents to counteract its population decline since the 1960s.

However, the range of narratives currently expressed throughout the city must continue to be both expanded and refined. The memorial arena of the public sphere this studio encountered has many under-spatialized and completely absent histories that were only unearthed after desktop analysis and interacting with local Alabamians. Luckily the many individuals and organizations with whom the team spoke are willing and wanting to challenge the status quo and make these histories known.

Traditional avenues of community engagement appear to be working proficiently. However, a limited city workforce has slowed the preservation and spatialization of Montgomery's many histories and also left communities in danger of losing space to State-led development. The City of Montgomery's inability to systematically address land use issues due to the State of Alabama's pervasive and inhibitive land ownership scheme is felt across the city, but most strongly downtown. Large state-owned towers dwarf surrounding properties and are visible from any

corner of the city. And the sheer power of the State government (most notably through the Retirement Systems of Alabama) means that new developments are taking entire neighborhood blocks and developing them en tabula rasa with little to no respect for the surrounding character or the needs of the citizens.

Proposals developed by this studio aim to address these overarching challenges through design interventions, policy recommendations, and emerging technologies. These recommendations are designed to work in tandem with the Envision 2040 process and with on-going redevelopment projects. They range from soft solutions that aim to link historic properties in a coherent and provocative manner, to hardscape solutions that seek to embolden Montgomery's public into thinking about who and what deserves to be remembered within their public realm.

In sum, the studio identified nine key issues encapsulating the current condition in Montgomery.

It is important for the City to address these equally important issues as part of the Envision Montgomery 2040 comprehensive planning process. Many of the studio's proposals address multiple issues at a variety of scales, and the studio team hopes to inspire a framework for long-term preservation, revitalization, and growth that both takes advantage of emerging opportunities and mitigates negative trends in the city.

KEY ISSUES

1 Under-spatialized Histories and Narratives

Native American history, slavery, Reconstruction, and racial terror are just a few examples of underrepresented narratives in the public realm.

2 Over Reliance on Historical Markers

Montgomery appears to use historical markers as a proxy for tangible historic resources and interpretation.

3 City-State Land Use Tensions

The State is not required to comply with City codes, which has resulted in the encroachment of State buildings on historic Dexter Avenue.

4 Limited Commercial Vitality

Contentious history, white flight, and city-state land-use tensions have led to an inactive downtown and high commercial vacancy rates.

5 Limited Mobility + Poor Transit

Although the City was once a national leader in transit innovation, its public transit systems are now inadequate.

6 Limited Neighborhood Connectivity

Communities have been intentionally severed by the construction of the interstate highways, which is exacerbated by poor public transit options.

7 Limited Public Open Space

The number, scale, and quality of open spaces are insufficient.

8 Limited Platforms for Resident Participation

There is a lack of diverse community engagement opportunities—locals have attempted to fill the gap with informal processes.

9 Untapped Potential of Heritage in Revitalization

Loss of historic fabric, isolation of historic resources, and distrust of government oversight have led to missed opportunities for the interpretation of heritage in Montgomery.





View of Downtown from Church Street towards
Lee Street, Montgomery, October 2018.

PROPOSALS

The studio proposals can be broadly categorized into three major themes:

Spatializing histories and narratives,

Fostering community dialogue,

Reinvesting in and reconnecting fractured landscapes and communities.

Through these proposed interventions, the studio team seeks to spatialize narratives that have been fractured, lost, or intentionally erased from the landscape by utilizing new spatial arrangements and physical interventions. Proposals addressing this theme also seek to build social capital and promote restorative justice.

In addressing the second theme, the team seeks to strengthen the existing public engagement infrastructures, such as the storytelling booth in the Kress Building, and recommend the adoption of additional tools, like virtual platforms, to further improve community engagement. These efforts will help to recover neighborhood connectivity and build trust among diverse communities, as well as provide additional outlets for narrative presence in the city beyond physical spatialization.

In addressing the third proposal theme, the team seeks to improve the connectivity between historic sites and communities through changes in signage, streetscape design, transportation options, and open space. City/state land use tensions were commonly present in many of the issues explored in this research. This studio does not offer a panacea to resolve these challenges, but suggests that the realization of a more welcoming, prosperous, and livable Montgomery will depend on city and state authorities embracing a collective vision of success. The nearly 12,000 Montgomery residents who are employed by the state, 7% of the city's workforce (Alabama Department of Labor, 2018), have an important role to play as bridge individuals who are deeply invested in the long-term success of both the city and the state and should help forge a path towards common ground during the Envision Montgomery 2040 process.

The majority of proposals developed by the team involve physical interventions in the landscape. However, the team also recognizes that some small-scale and policy-oriented changes could have a significant impact. These types of changes include reevaluating the city's parking ordinance, public transit offerings, and even the city's branding methods. The two-hour parking limit for on-street parking does not appear to have changed since the 1940s, despite the vastly different downtown landscape. The city currently operates the same number of bus routes as it did in 1998, even though the city's population is much more widely dispersed outside of downtown. Lastly, the city's branding as both the Cradle of the Confederacy and Birthplace of the Civil Rights Movement is often confusing and not adequately represented. These two narratives have vastly different spatial representation within the city and this dual concept should be further explored.

POP-UP STREET MARKET

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives
- 2 Over-reliance on historical markers
- 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges
- 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties
- 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options
- 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities
- 7 Limited public open space
- 8 Limited platforms for resident participation
- 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization

Background & Rationale

Downtown Montgomery, specifically Commerce Street and Dexter Avenue, was traditionally the commercial hub of the city and has subsequently evolved into a highly significant historic corridor. In 1985, the city tried to capitalize on the historic architecture of the corridor to promote revitalization efforts through the Dexter Avenue Commercial Revitalization Program but many of these recommendations were not implemented. More recently, the city has provided incentives to try to encourage businesses to move back to the formerly vibrant commercial core and to rehabilitate underutilized historic buildings, and change is afoot, most notably with the Kress Building.

Project Description

As a way to create economic vitality by bringing more people downtown on a regular basis, this proposal includes the creation of a pop-up, weekly market. This could be implemented on any number of downtown streets, but for the purposes of this studio Commerce Street is suggested as the pilot area. The underutilized space in the center lane of the road and numerous parking lots provide adequate space for a pop-up event without requiring any major physical changes to the built environment.

Implementation

This proposal requires collaboration between the public and private sectors. The location of the pop-up market would mainly be along Commerce Street, which is within the city's jurisdiction. The current four-lane street will be reduced into two lanes, one for each way, to produce a public space median in

the middle of the road during morning time on each Sunday and during public holidays. In addition to the median strip of Commerce Street, several parking lots could expand the scale of the market, including the Commerce Street Parking Lot, the Chamber of Commerce parking lot, and the lot to the northeast of Rosa Parks Library and Museum. These lots are not widely used on the weekends.

This could be implemented by the city. With regard to the business retailers in the pop-up market, in the first stage of the process, the city government would need to provide incentives to attract the existing business retailers and small chain retailers, and encourage new retailers. Regulations would also be embedded to protect local businesses and maintain the order of the space. Those regulations could include, but not be limited to, no street food vendors, shed size, strict speed limit of cars, etc.

Anticipated Outcomes

The pop-up market event would create a space that is designated for pedestrians to help the city of Montgomery to bring back both businesses and people downtown. Ancillary to this scheme, the closure of certain streets would create new types of open space. The creation of a weekly, centralized market could also help heal the broken connection between disparate and severed communities.

Proposal Map.





Above Top: Current situation of Commerce Street.

Above Bottom: Proposed Pop-up Market on Commerce Street.

Top Right: Current situation of Chamber of Commerce Parking Lot

Bottom Right: Proposed Pop-up Market in empty parking lot.

COMPARATIVE CASE

Foshee Management Company began the redevelopment project of a Dexter loft around 2000, and they have since kick started numerous other redevelopments along the street. In 2014, they announced the proposal of a Market District on lower Dexter Avenue, which contains a redevelopment plan of 14 buildings in the area as well as weekend events of street festivals and markets. The plan seeks to convert the upper floors of the existing buildings along the west side of Dexter Avenue into loft apartments and leave the ground floor for commercial retail tenants. This Market District would encompass lower Dexter Avenue, from Perry Street to Commerce Street, including Court Square. Part of the plan is to close this section to automobile traffic on the weekends. As of yet, this scheme has not moved forward.

SLAVERY TO CIVIL RIGHTS TRAIL

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives
- 2 Over-reliance on historical markers
- 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges
- 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties
- 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options
- 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities
- 7 Limited public open space
- 8 Limited platforms for resident participation
- 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization

Background & Rationale

Downtown Montgomery used to be dominated by the slave trade. Slave trader offices lined Commerce Street, slave depots or holding areas were sprinkled along Dexter Avenue and Lawrence Street; and Court Square was the main auction block. Dexter Avenue was formerly known as Market Street, almost assuredly due to the street's reputation as a slave market. Today, this slavery narrative is largely absent from the streets of Montgomery. A 2013 marker at Lawrence and Monroe (erected by EJI) is one of the few representations of this important narrative. Further, Montgomery's Civil Rights Movement connection is well known but the conditions and events leading up to it have not been remembered in the landscape. These narratives from Slavery to Civil Rights include Emancipation and the Jim Crow Era. The National Historic Selma to Montgomery Trail enters the city on Montgomery Street and ends along Dexter Avenue. However, this trail is meant for automobiles and is only marked by brown street signs.

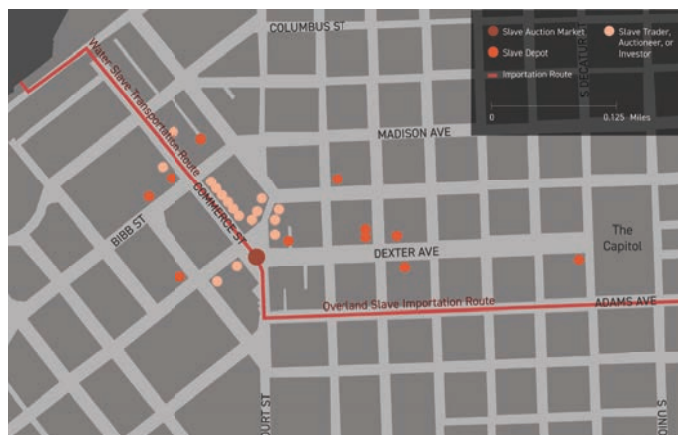
Project Description

This project includes a physical intervention on Dexter Avenue and Commerce Street to simultaneously give voice to these untold narratives, provide open space, and a serve as focal point for public art. The intervention would extend east from Riverfront Park, down Commerce Street, through Court Square, and down Dexter Avenue to the steps of the Capitol.

There is already an oversaturation of signage downtown, so signage would be limited to where slave depots actually were, Court Square as the epicenter of the interpretive intervention, and in select hotspot locations with public art. Slave depot sites along these streets represent only a fraction of what used to be downtown but it seems appropriate to interpret them with a single intervention due to their proximity. The site locations were described in the 1920s Tintagil guidebook, the 2013 EJI marker, and in the 2013 EJI book, *Slavery in America: The Montgomery Slave Trade*. Pavement markings would be installed along the linear path, either in paint or a material (perhaps brick) inserted into the existing pavement. In conjunction with public art and pavement markings, existing under-utilized public space would be incorporated into the trail. This would encourage more everyday use of the trail as opposed to it becoming simply a tourist attraction. These newly created open spaces would include public art on the walls of the garage and light recreation space with park benches and a playground. There is currently a wall separating the garage from the street. This would become an interpretive wall showing the entire timeline of the intervention from Slavery to Civil Rights.

Court Square would be reconfigured as a public plaza and the traffic pattern will be altered. This would be the epicenter of the project with interpretive materials and gathering space. This intervention would also bolster the existing National Historic Trail.

Left: Slave trade historic locations as identified by the Equal Justice Initiative. Adapted from two graphics released by the Equal Justice Initiative.



Implementation

This proposal is dependent on the city's support and the willingness of the RSA, since they own most of the lots where these interventions would be located. The City would have to maintain the sidewalk markings. The Equal Justice Initiative and Public Art Commission, in partnership with the Alabama Historical Commission, would be the obvious choices to initiate and take care of the panels and public art.

Anticipated Outcomes

A Slavery to Civil Rights Trail through the commercial spine of the city would help revitalize the downtown. Important under-spatialized narratives would finally be given context and the inclusion of public art would allow for community engagement. By bolstering the trail with new areas of open space, residents would be encouraged to regularly visit downtown. This proposal could help unite communities and be a source of pride for Montgomerians for decades to come. Further, a trail of this nature does not exist in this form. Therefore Montgomery could lead the way in both representative and sensitive interpretation of the nation's dark histories.



Above: Rendering of underused parking garage space with new public art and playground.

Below: Public art instillation on Dexter Avenue.



MGM GREENBELT

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives
- 2 Over-reliance on historical markers
- 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges
- 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties
- 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options
- 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities
- 7 Limited public open space
- 8 Limited platforms for resident participation
- 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization

Background & Rationale

Montgomery is lacking in public open and green space. Many of the sites the city considers open space are, in fact, semi-private sports facilities like the Biscuits Stadium. The downtown is particularly deficient in open space. However, by simply investing in the area's underutilized open space Montgomery could become a city anchored by a unique city park.

Project Description

This project involves the creation of an MGM Greenbelt along Dexter Avenue and Commerce Street. Dexter Avenue currently has four lanes of traffic with a central median and angled parking. This amount of infrastructure seems unnecessary given the level of traffic witnessed while in the field and from resident accounts. By removing a lane from each side and installing parallel parking, the sidewalks on either side could be extended by about 20 feet. This would allow for 40 feet of linear green space along Dexter. The traffic pattern and layout of Court Square is not efficient. Part of the square was filled in during the 1970s and 80s as a true public plaza. This project would re-establish a more efficient traffic pattern.

Around the corner, Commerce Street currently has a wide median with parking spaces down the center and angled parking on the side. This median would be minimized, eliminating the central parking spaces, and replacing the angled spaces with parallel parking. The sidewalks could then be extended as green space. These physical interventions would allow for a continuous greenbelt to run from Riverfront Park all the way to the Capitol, and would not adversely affect the view corridor of the Capitol building from Court Square.

Implementation

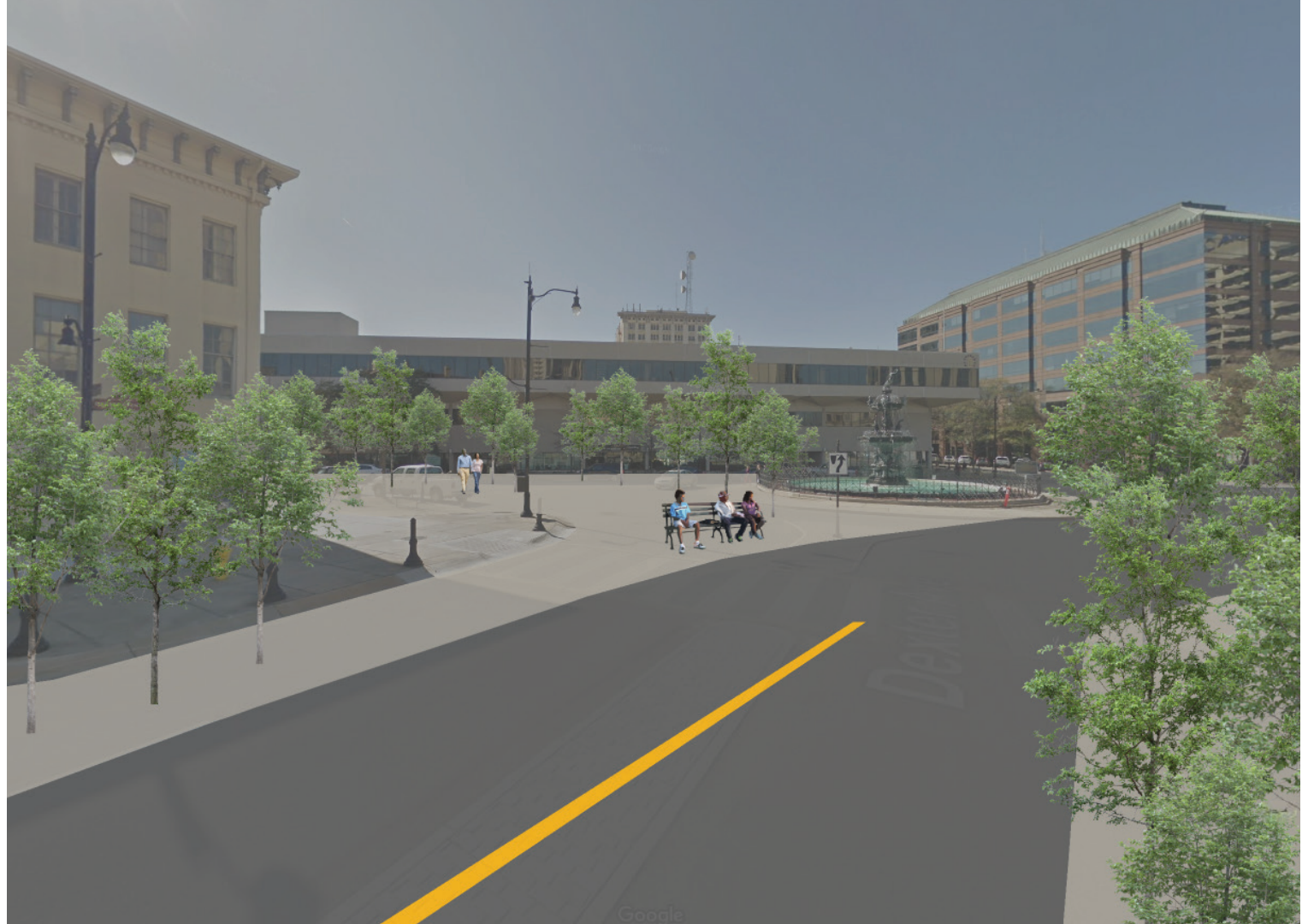
The city would be responsible for implementing this proposal. The city could create a sponsorship program that would allow for local businesses and organizations to sponsor a specific area of the park. These businesses could pay for park infrastructure like benches or plantings. This proposal is designed to work independently or in tandem with the Slavery to Civil Rights Trail Proposal. The Pop-Up Street Market Proposal could be adapted for the reconfigured Court Square.

Anticipated Outcomes

An MGM Greenbelt would reintroduce open space to downtown Montgomery. By creating a linear park, downtown would be better connected and the commercial core would become a destination for both tourists and residents.

Top Right: Current Court Square photograph showing empty plaza space and few trees.

Bottom Right: Proposed Court Square and Dexter Avenue with new tree boulevard.



OAK PARK

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives
- 2 Over-reliance on historical markers
- 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges
- 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties
- 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options
- 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities
- 7 Limited public open space
- 8 Limited platforms for resident participation
- 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization

Background & Rationale

For generations, Montgomerians have enjoyed the Olmsted-designed Oak Park. The Park was a major attraction and social venue for the City of Montgomery during the twentieth century. At its height in the 1940s, Oak Park had a pavilion open to the public for parties, dancing, and meetings, a sophisticated zoo, a swimming pool, a wading pool, playgrounds, tennis courts, and barbecue pits. With over 1,500 azaleas lining its paths and walkways, Oak Park was considered “one of the beauty spots of the Southland.” Today, Oak Park is an underutilized recreational and historical resource.

Project Description

The Park could be better integrated into the social and physical fabric of the City of Montgomery by:

Creating pedestrian access at the end of each street on the north, west, and east perimeters.

Relocating equipment stored by Montgomery Parks Maintenance.

Memorializing and interpreting historical narratives relevant to Montgomery’s history through plantings and markers, especially Native American history and the legacy of Jim Crow laws.

Recreating the Park’s twentieth century pavilion.

Providing park programming throughout the year.

Designing a satellite zoo to expand the current Montgomery Zoo into its historical footprint.

Implementation

The creation of a private nonprofit conservancy could aid in administering Oak Park. Similar to the group of private citizens who organize Old Alabama

Town, such a conservancy would provide future guidance and fundraising capacity. The Oak Park Conservancy would work to restore and sustain Oak Park in conjunction with the City of Montgomery and Montgomery Parks & Recreation. A new master plan for Oak Park could be created in tandem with the Envision Montgomery 2040 master planning process. This coordination would ensure that Oak Park is integrated into the City’s long-term plan while also providing additional opportunities for stakeholder engagement in the creation of a new Oak Park Master Plan. In addition to the Oak Park Conservancy, which would manage capital restoration projects called for in the Oak Park Master Plan, the City could consider creating a cultural tax district to sustain Oak Park. While the surrounding metropolitan area may oppose an additional tax district, the Montgomery city center may support a new tax. Such a tax district—likely taking the form of a property tax—would also provide additional revenue for other proposals in conjunction with the revitalization of Oak Park.

Anticipated Outcomes

This proposal to revitalize and reconnect Oak Park remedies several of Montgomery’s perceived weaknesses while also taking advantage of the City’s strengths. Investing in Oak Park would help address the City’s lack of recreational programming and park space. By restoring some of the original character of Oak Park, the space could again function as a center for civic engagement and social life. The Park also presents a unique opportunity to provide additional spatialized interpretation of some of Montgomery’s underrepresented historical narratives. Creating a civic nonprofit organization to manage the development of Oak Park would capitalize on Montgomery’s strength of community engagement.

This proposal to reinvest in Oak Park would function as a catalyst for additional development in the Centennial Hill and Highland Park neighborhoods. Making Oak Park an attractive recreation and civic space would attract further investment in nearby homes and businesses. The Park could act as an eastern anchor for central Montgomery’s historic core.

Top Right: Current Oak Park.

Bottom Right: Proposed new pedestrian access routes.



CENTENNIAL HILL

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives | 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities |
| 2 Over-reliance on historical markers | 7 Limited public open space |
| 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges | 8 Limited platforms for resident participation |
| 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties | 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization |
| 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options | |

Background & Rationale

Just a few blocks away, running parallel to the northern edge of Oak Park, is the former commercial corridor of Highland Avenue. The section of Highland Avenue running westward toward Jackson Street was once a vibrant commercial strip in the historically African American neighborhood of Centennial Hill. A series of Sanborn Insurance Maps from 1953 show a rich variety of businesses along the street from the Ben Moore Hotel at Jackson, to dry cleaners, gas stations, auto repair shops, offices, churches, restaurants and clubs. Many commercial structures remain today, but are largely vacant or underutilized.

Project Description

Targeted reinvestment of a few key buildings, such as the Ben Moore Hotel, would likely spark development in the surrounding neighborhood. The area still possesses the potential to be a hub for small businesses, serving local residents, as well as visitors to the nearby Dexter Avenue Parsonage. Opportunities for sensitive infill can create continuity in the city blocks, and help bring business back to Centennial Hill. By concentrating efforts in Centennial Hill and Oak Park, the neighborhood can revitalize its historic commercial properties, claim a connection to the surrounding city, and increase access to and utilization of Oak Park.

Implementation

The city could encourage this type of sensitive revitalization by providing incentives to developers. The city could also ensure that the existing neighborhood community is involved in this redevelopment process. This would be especially important since the area has been resistant to government actions in the past, and for understandable reasons. The redevelopment of Centennial Hill and its reconnection to Oak Park would need to be accomplished through a partnership of the City, the neighborhood association, and an open-minded developer.

Anticipated Outcomes

Targeted reinvestment on Highland Avenue will likely spur reinvestment and revitalization in the entire Centennial Hill neighborhood. By targeting historic areas and buildings, previously untapped heritage can be incorporated into the redevelopment and future of the neighborhood. By creating a partnership which includes the neighborhood association, residents will be able to help shape the future of their neighborhood and ensure the redevelopment is for them as well as new residents.

Top Right: Map showing proximity of Centennial Hill to Oak Park.

Bottom Right: Proposed infill development potential in Centennial Hill to increase commercial vitality.



TOUR BUS SERVICES

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives
- 2 Over-reliance on historical markers
- 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges
- 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties
- 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options
- 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities
- 7 Limited public open space
- 8 Limited platforms for resident participation
- 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization

Background & Rationale

Tourism in Montgomery could bring relatively powerful consumers to the city, create a market for local entrepreneurs, and fuel an engine for localized sustainable economic development. While land use planning and spatial models of tourism development have been discussed; there have been calls to integrate transport and tourism within the destination planning process, first, to minimize negative effects and unintended consequences of large-scale developments and, second, to broaden choice in mode of travel. This is particularly the case in relation to impacts of extensive day visitation, which is a characteristic of many domestic tourism markets.

Montgomery has very limited transportation options and its historic resources are often located at some distance apart. The result is that the city's historic resources are disconnected and lack continuity.

Project Description

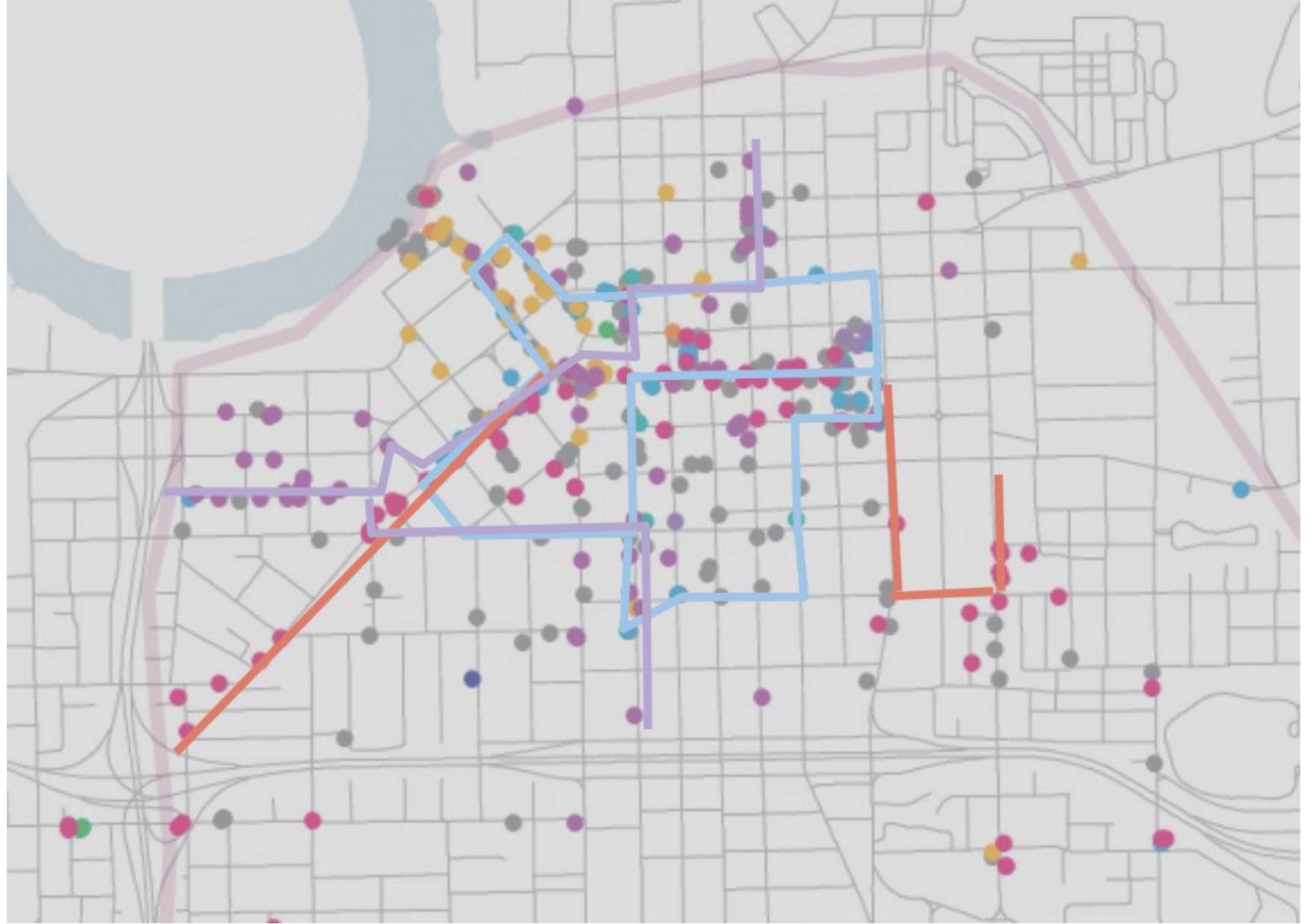
To help better connect Montgomery's historic resources and bolster the city's tourism market, this proposal creates a historic sites and interpretive center bus route. The route would include a variety of different lines to connect sites like the EJI Legacy Museum, EJI National Memorial for Peace and Justice, First White House of the Confederacy, Freedom Rides Museum, Old Alabama Town, Union Station and Montgomery Area Visitor Center, Riverfront Park, Museum of Alabama, Troy University Rosa Parks Museum, Southern Poverty Law Center for Civil Rights Memorial Center, and Oak Park just to name a few. Each route could have a different narrative theme.

Implementation

A tour bus service could either be managed by a private company or could operate as an additional city-provided public transit option. Existing small businesses such as More Than Tours suggest that such a model is viable. If a private company chose to pursue this proposal then the city should be an active partner in helping determine the routes. The city could provide traffic and road condition data to ensure the tour bus routes run efficiently.

Anticipated Outcomes

A variety of narrative bus networks may attract more visitors and rejuvenate the tourism market in Montgomery. This in turn, could encourage economic vitality.



Map of proposed new bus routes and tour stops.

BRIDGING THE HIGHWAY GAP

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives
- 2 Over-reliance on historical markers
- 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges
- 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties
- 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options
- 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities
- 7 Limited public open space
- 8 Limited platforms for resident participation
- 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization

Background & Rationale

The legacy of redlining and the creation of the interstate highways have physically severed communities and divided neighborhoods. This has notably affected Cottage Hill and the Holt Street areas. This large physical divider is difficult to overcome, and today these areas are still severed. The streets and sidewalks across the interstates are underutilized and not welcoming to pedestrians.

The overlay of the sidewalks' condition and the historic resources is meant to evaluate the walking accessibility in the studio study area. The condition of the sidewalk is judged by whether there is a sidewalk, and whether the sidewalk has a road verge. According to the map, the highway system divides Montgomery into several sections, and the pathway under the highway is inactive. Some sidewalks, though in good condition, are seldom used by pedestrians. The dots show the different kinds of historical resources. The highway severs connectivity between some resources, even in instances where they are close to each other.

The streetscape demonstrates this problem more clearly and directly. Blocks near the highway are occupied with dilapidated buildings or even vacant, which makes neither the highway nor its surroundings welcoming to pedestrians. As seen on two typical streets, South Holt Street and South Hall Street, the highway creates a vast expanse of unutilized space between historic resources.

Project Description

This proposal aims to improve the areas around the highway system by renovating the space under the highway, creating a public recreational park along the path, and developing more comfortable sidewalks for pedestrians—citizens and visitors alike.

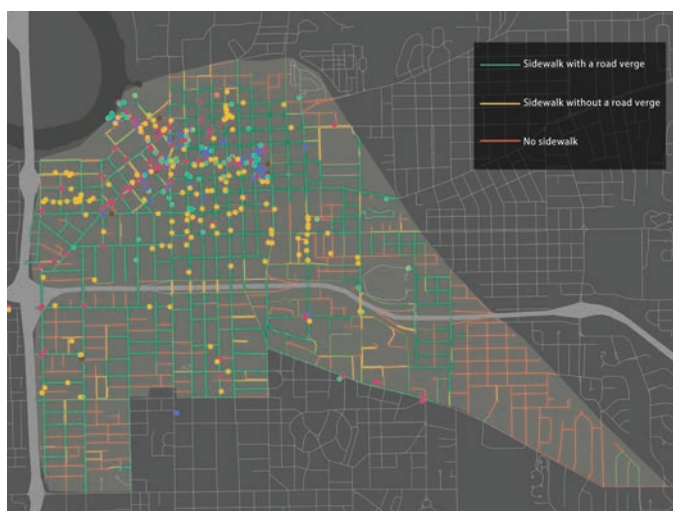
Implementation

Since this proposal is a physical intervention on the streets and sidewalks, the city would need to spearhead this project. However, logical partners would be the Public Art Commission in order to ensure the participation of local residents.

Anticipated Outcomes

By enhancing the environment of under-highway/above-highway space, the sidewalks near the highway could become activated and mobility improved. The continuous connectivity of sidewalks through the city would contribute to tying the historic resources from different locations and provide possible routes for sightseers to choose in the future. The enhanced environment around the highway could serve as landscape nodes that not only link the separated spaces, but reinvents the highway areas as community and tourism assets.

Right: Proposed new signage and interpretation under the highway interchange.





DIGITAL STORYTELLING PLATFORM

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives
- 2 Over-reliance on historical markers
- 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges
- 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties
- 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options
- 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities
- 7 Limited public open space
- 8 Limited platforms for resident participation
- 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization

Background & Rationale

Montgomery's downtown is dominated by historical markers and a variety of signage hierarchies and types. This is not only disorienting for visitors, but it detracts from cohesive narratives and branding. In addition to this, there are limited platforms for community engagement and participatory storytelling. This proposal seeks to tackle these core issues in tandem.

Project Description

The purpose of this proposal is to build a wider platform to gather information, set up additional channels to disseminate information, and reinforce public participation in the process. The project would be rolled out in two phases: first, to gather a diverse repertoire of historical materials from the greater Montgomery community, and then to exhibit these materials through new interactive mediums.

Implementation

Phase 1: Information Gathering

Narratives and histories would be gathered through multiple platforms. Currently the Atlanta-based Dashboard Agency Collective operates the STORYTELLING + Podcast Studio from the Kress on Dexter building in Downtown Montgomery. This project allows individuals to enter a private booth where they can record personal anecdotes or musings. All material is transmitted to Dashboard's website, creating a public archive of both quotidian and extraordinary stories of Montgomery residents.

Since this platform is already set up at the Kress building, this proposal involves Dashboard collaborating with the City of Montgomery to expand the project by

adding four more booths that could circulate through the city at various community hubs for a few months at a time. The storybooths should be distributed evenly throughout the city at libraries, churches, schools, and other community spaces. A marketing campaign would be launched to let citizens know about the project and how they can contribute their personal stories through this platform. Although the City of Montgomery would be integral with financing and logistics, Dashboard should continue to administer the project due as a third party between citizens and the municipal government.

In addition to the expanded Storybooth project, this project involves creating an online platform in which individuals could submit a variety of materials, whether they be audio, visual, or written. We believe that current and former residents (as well as relatives, friends, and visitors) possess a wealth of materials about the city's past that offer unique perspectives that are not archived through formal institutions. The online platform, dubbed the Virtual Museum of Montgomery, democratizes the collection process by allowing former residents, as well as those who participated in historic events such as the Freedom Rides or the Selma to Montgomery March to share raw accounts without curatorial editing.

The larger Virtual Museum of Montgomery project would be managed and updated by Dashboard, and would incorporate the repository of Storybooth audio clips currently archived at <http://storybooth.us>. The website would have a section for uploading new materials, where participants can add accompanying captions, sources and relevant keywords. There would also be a mobile-friendly website and app that would enable participants to upload materials through their personal cellphones. Expanding the project to smartphone users is essential since nearly 74% of Montgomery households have access to a smartphone with Internet connection (US Census 2016).

Phase 2: Broadcasting New Narratives

The second phase of this project would disseminate the new materials through a campaign that uses both digital and physical mediums to showcase collected narratives.

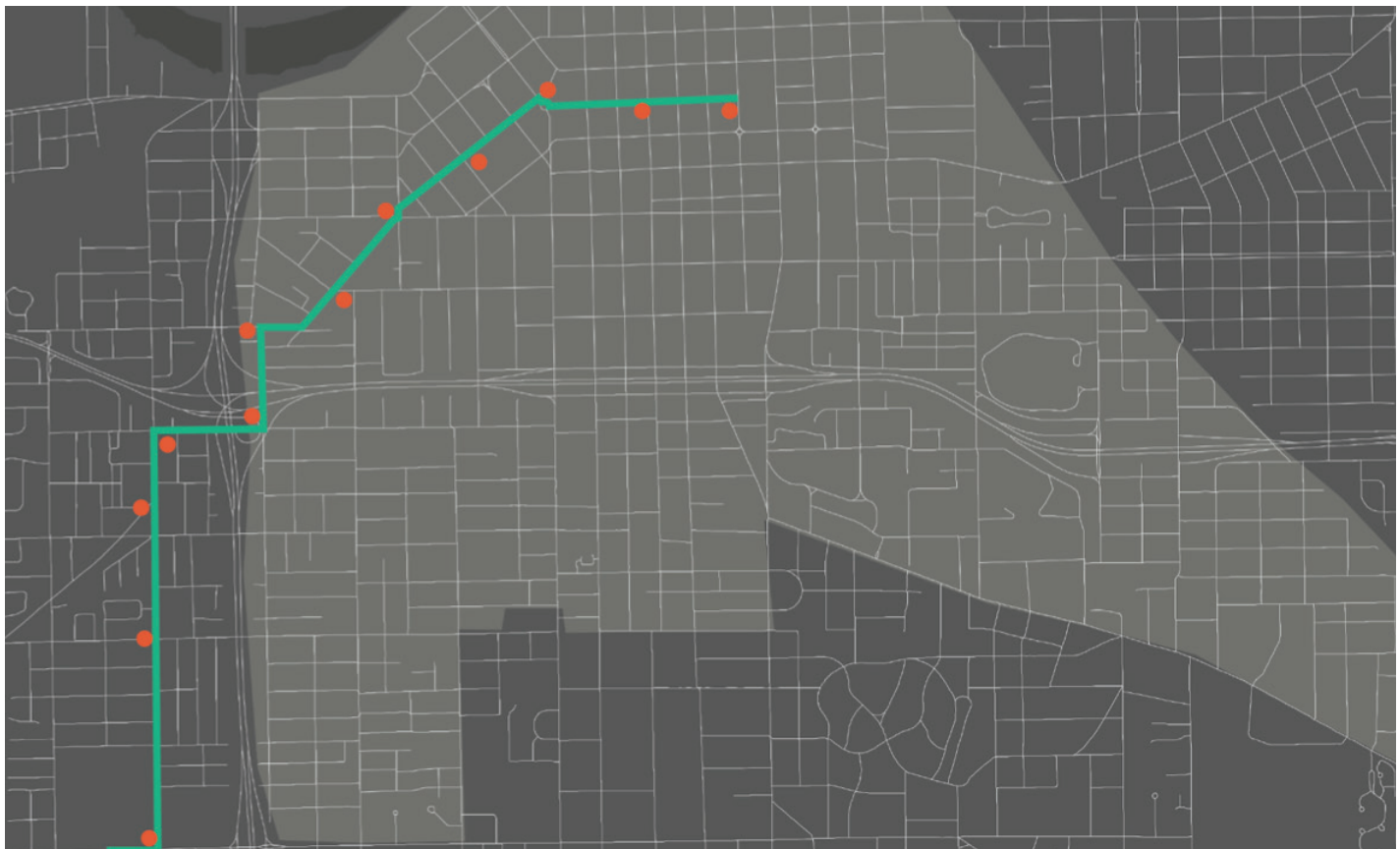
On the digital end, all uploaded resources would be featured on the Virtual Museum of Montgomery website. Dashboard would be responsible for moving these user-uploaded materials to the appropriate section of the website, which will be organized by historical era or theme. Although all media would be stored on the website (save for explicit or irrelevant materials), Dashboard would be able to instill a hierarchy in the website design that would highlight exceptional uploaded materials, similar to what they currently do on the Storybooth website which has a “Selected by Kress” subset of audio clips in addition to the full collection of stories. Since the history of Montgomery is political, painful, and personal, Dashboard would be better positioned, rather than the City of Montgomery, to promulgate narratives that explore the city’s darker histories of racial persecution and terror. Content could also be accessed on the Virtual Museum of Montgomery mobile apps, which would be programmed for both iOS and Android devices.

Right: Proposed LinkMGM platform to collect oral histories from general public.

Below: Map of LinkMGM kiosks.

In terms of physical interventions, the City of Montgomery could lead a new initiative to install twelve Link telecommunication devices at strategic locations along the city’s sidewalks. The Link devices have been installed in New York City and London, and feature a touch screen interface that allows the public to connect to WiFi, make free phone calls, browse citywide maps, and access other services, such as a voter registration platform.

Montgomery’s initiative would be a pilot program using tailored devices, known as LinkMGM, that



would be placed adjacent to existing static signage along the Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail. In addition to supplying much needed telecommunications infrastructure to the under-resourced neighborhoods along the trail, the LinkMGM devices would be equipped with the Virtual Museum of Montgomery application. The devices are equipped with a digital screen and a headphone jack, enabling users to access any of the materials archived on the digital museum platform.

Furthermore, Dashboard and the City of Montgomery could launch an additional initiative working with the National Park Service, the City of St. Jude Interpretive Center, and other organizations to collect multimedia resources and interviews from the 1965 Selma to Montgomery March. This material would be uploaded to a dedicated section of the Digital Museum. Since the LinkMGM devices will be located next to existing signage commemorating the March, users would engage in a more immersive educational experience where they can feel history come alive along the streets where the march happened more than 50 years ago.

The Selma to Montgomery Route passes through both residential and commercial sections of the city. Specific Selma to Montgomery narratives/resources would be assigned to each LinkMGM installation, highlighting an event that occurred within close proximity to the site. Users can choose to stop at each of the twelve devices, which stretch from the City of St. Jude to the foot of the Capitol Grounds, or listen to all twelve narratives at one device.

Lastly, the LinkMGM devices would work to address the lack of conduits for community participation in local government. The sides of the Link devices feature large digital screens that could notify residents of upcoming City Council Meetings or the Envision Montgomery 2040 comprehensive planning process. The devices would feature key information about how residents can contact different municipal departments or their elected representatives to address community concerns. Other features could include the Envision Montgomery 2040 resident feedback form as well as materials about candidates and voter registration during election season.

Anticipated Outcomes

This proposal provides a variety of complimentary levels of participatory storytelling and community input. By taking this information and presenting it in a variety of different ways, both digitally and physically, the interpretive clarity of Montgomery's history is streamlined. An interactive LinkMGM on the street helps ensure these new stories are accessible to the public and decrease the city's reliance on historical markers.

Top Right: Proposed new interpretation and information posted on LinkMGM near Capitol grounds.

Bottom Right: Proposed new interpretation and information posted on LinkMGM near highway interchange.



CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS IN MGM

ISSUES ADDRESSED:

- 1 Under-spatialized histories and narratives
- 2 Over-reliance on historical markers
- 3 City-State land use tensions / challenges
- 4 Limited commercial vitality / vacant properties
- 5 Limited mobility / poor transit options
- 6 Limited neighborhood connectivity / severed communities
- 7 Limited public open space
- 8 Limited platforms for resident participation
- 9 Untapped potential of heritage in revitalization

Background & Rationale

On June 24, 2015, the set of four flags at Alabama's State Capitol at Montgomery came down following a decision by Gov. Robert J. Bentley. People then turned their eyes to the Confederate monuments in this former Confederate capital. The erection of Confederate monuments in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries reinforced the so-called "Lost Cause" myth of the Civil War promoted by former Confederates and sympathizers (Gallagher and Nolan 2000). Today some equate these symbols with the ideals of Southern life: faith in agrarianism, love of liberty, mistrust of centralized authority, and appreciation of home and family. Others find them offensive reminders of the worst aspects of Southern culture: a degrading view of African Americans as racially inferior, a belief that enslaving people was necessary to the economic and cultural interests of the antebellum South, and an attempt to destroy the Union to protect these views.

This dualism is strongly reflected in the built environment in Montgomery, as a former capital of the Confederacy and a city that, in part, brands itself through its Civil War heritage. There are sixteen Confederate memorials in the studio study area, including buildings as well as statues and monuments. The most prominent Confederate memorials in Montgomery are the Confederate Monument on Capital Hill and the First White House of Confederacy, and they attract thousands of tourists to Montgomery every year. It is not anticipated that these resources, if any, will be demolished or removed in the near future, especially in light of the 2017 Alabama

Memorial Preservation Act. But when a symbol is on public property and/or uses tax revenue for its maintenance, there is an implicit obligation for it to represent a broad citizenry and its collective values. So what can be done to add context to these resources so as to recognize and mitigate these narrative tensions?

Project Description

This proposal advocates for a participatory, bottom-up process to examine the Confederate monuments within Montgomery that examines additive approaches to their reinterpretation. This studio documented a distinct difference between the narrative broadcast on the grounds of the Capitol and the rest of the city. Surrounding the Capitol is the single largest concentration of Confederate statues and memorials, with no representation of narratives such as slavery, segregation or Civil Rights, all forces which indelibly shaped the entire state of Alabama as well as the city. Elsewhere in the city, the narratives are more diverse. Therefore, an additive approach should concentrate on the grounds of the Capitol, considering ways to provide additional context for the existing Confederate narrative as well as opportunities to include additional narratives honored by the citizens of Alabama, such as the legacy of slavery or the Civil Rights movement.

Such an additive approach has been deployed successfully by other municipalities facing similar challenges. Similar to Montgomery, Richmond, Virginia, has no shortage of public memorials to the Confederacy, and Civil War tourism is an important aspect of the local economy. It has been working for decades to reinterpret its past by adding new interventions in the landscape. In 2003, the city installed a memorial to Lincoln. Later, the Richmond Slavery Reconciliation Statue was near a former slave market. Other cities have chosen to reinterpret Confederate monuments. In August 2018, the North Carolina Historical Commission voted to keep three Confederate monuments on the grounds of the state Capitol building in Raleigh and to add context about slavery and civil rights. The St. Augustine City Commission in Florida also voted to add context to the city's Confederate monument, with the following verbiage, "This Memorial to the Confederate War dead and its placement in the plaza was recently

examined by the St. Augustine community. As the nation's oldest city, committed to preserving history, it was determined rather than removing the memorial context should be added that accurately records this city's history." Providing new context gives people from the present a chance re-discuss their history, to reject white supremacy, and to embrace racial equality.

Implementation

There has been community input in the 2040 Montgomery Plan by the Planning Department of Montgomery that could serve as a model for this process. For example, the city can organize workshops starting with presentations of the Confederacy memorial issue and how other cities tackle it. Then citizens could be encouraged to speak out their opinions. The city can also conduct a large-scale survey with questions like "How do you perceive the Confederate memorials?" "What actions, if any, should the city take for monuments in its care?" or "What could represent the character or identity of Montgomery?" Multiple public hearings could also be held before any decision is made. The government should serve as mediator to ameliorate the conflicts, avoid violence, and help reach a consensus among citizens.

Anticipated Outcomes

Supporting more avenues for discussion on this contentious topic will give communities a voice. There are doubtless many conflicting opinions on the potential removal or reinterpretation of Montgomery's Confederate Monuments, but by creating a safe, open environment to express those opinions, a consensus or compromise might be reached.

Below: Confederate Monument on Capitol Grounds.







National Memorial to Peace and Justice,
Equal Justice Initiative Montgomery, October 2018.

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IMAGE CREDITS

[Historic images are captioned in grey.]

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[Cover Image] Spider Martin, *MLK in crowd, Montgomery South Jackson Street, Courthouse March*. 1965; with photograph by Madeline Berry.

[Page 2-3] Photograph by Madeline Berry.

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[Page 66-67] Postcards. c1910-1915. Postcard Collection c1900-2000, LPP45, Alabama Department of Archives and History. Courtesy of Kitty Chamberlain. Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 68-69] *Photographs of Commerce Street and Coosa Street*. 1978. "Lower Commerce Street Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery. Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 70] *Photograph of Cotton Sale in Court Square*. 1870. Photographs, LPP30, Alabama Department of Archives and History.; *Stereograph image of Cotton Sale in Court Square*. c1875. Photographs, LPP30, Alabama Dept. of Archives and History.

[Page 71] Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 72] *Etching of Alabama State Capitol Building with Confederate Monument*, c1875. Alabama State Capitol Building Photographs, LPP30, Alabama Department of Archives and History.; *Birdseye view of Montgomery*, 1887. Art Work of Alabama Cities Collection, LPR 134, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

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[Page 76] *Dexter Avenue from Court Square*. 1906. Photographs Collection-Places c1860-1900, Vertical File, Alabama Department of Archives and History.; *Dexter Avenue Revitalization Plan*. 1985. City Planning Department.

[Page 77] Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 78] [Page 82-83] Present day photo-stitches by Madeline Berry.

[Page 79] *Historic Judicial Building on Dexter Avenue*. c1940. Photographs Collection-Places c1860-1900, Vertical File, Alabama Department of Archives and History. Photograph by Madeline Berry.

[Page 80-81] Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 82-83] Present day photo-stitch by Madeline Berry.

[Page 84] *Streetcar running on North Perry Street*. 1875. Photographs Collection-Places c1860-1900, Vertical File, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[Page 85] Photograph by Madeline Berry.

[Page 90] Sanborn Map Company. 1900, 1911. "Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps: Montgomery." Alabama Maps Collection City of Montgomery, Vertical File, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[Page 93] Present day photo-stitch by Madeline Berry.

[Page 94] *Historic photograph of Oak Park Pavilion*. c1915. Photographs Collection-Places c1860-1900, Vertical File, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[Page 95] Photograph by Whitney Bayers.

[Page 96] *Nelson, Marvin, and Spurgeon Malden in the Malden Brothers Barbershop at 407 South Jackson Street in Montgomery, Alabama*. 1959. Nelson Malden Civil Rights Era Photograph Collection, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[Page 97] Photograph by Shreya Ghoshal.

[Page 98] *Spider Martin, Dr. Martin Luther King during Selma-to-Montgomery March*. 1965. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group Photo.

[Page 99] Aerial photos of 1-85 construction. 1964. John Engelhardt Scott Negative Collection, 1941-1989, LPP116. Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[Page 100-101] Photographs from. "Cottage Hill Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. 1976. Alabama Historical Commission. Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 102-103] Spider Martin, *Montgomery Bus Boycott*, 1955. Alabama Department of Archives and History. Donated by Alabama Media Group, Birmingham News.

[Page 104] Photograph by Madeline Berry.

[Page 106] Photograph by William Raynolds.

[Page 109] Map of tour through historic downtown Montgomery. c1970s. Montgomery Visitors Center.

[Page 111] Photograph by Shreya Ghoshal.

[Page 113] Photographs from. "Old Alabama Town." National Register of Historic Places Registration Form. 1978. Alabama Historical Commission.

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[Page 116-117] Photograph (also used on cover) by Madeline Berry.

[Page 128-129] Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 130-131] Photographs by Madeline Berry, Will Raynolds.

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[Page 141] *Members of Ku Klux Klan during Selma-to-Montgomery-March*. 1965. Jim Peppler Southern Courier photograph collection, LPP106, Alabama Department of Archives and History.

[Page 142-143] Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 148-149] Photographs by Madeline Berry.

[Page 153] Photographs by Rupeng Zhao.

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[Present-day aerial and streetview images] Google Maps. "Montgomery, Alabama." Accessed September 2018-May 2019.

[All other images, maps, and graphics] Columbia GSAPP, Fall 2018 Studio Team.

